

**WILLIAM JOHN BANKES' COLLECTION OF
DRAWINGS AND MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO
ANCIENT NUBIA**

VOLUME I

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ABSTRACT

The portfolio of fifteen-hundred drawings made by the wealthy and brilliant William John Bankes (1786-1855) and his artists, travelling and working in Egypt and Nubia between 1815 and 1822, constitutes an important early scholarly record. Of particular interest are sites and monuments in Nubia and the Sudan, many of which are now destroyed, damaged, or have been moved due to the creation of Lake Nasser. Together with Henry Salt, Henry William Beechey, L-M-A. Linant de Bellefonds, and Alessandro Ricci, Bankes produced plans, views, descriptions, and, above all, remarkably accurate copies of reliefs and inscriptions. This mass of information was never arranged and published.

A catalogue raisonné of the Nubian drawings covers the sites running between Dabod and Naqa, including Gebel Barkal, Meroë, and Musawwarat; many virtually unknown at that time. The catalogue provides the data for an assessment of the archaeological and epigraphic significance of the record. In addition, the unsigned drawings can now be attributed to individual artists on stylistic criteria, and, using unpublished journals and correspondence, the two journeys of 1815 and 1818-9 can be reconstructed. Many previously unrecognised drawings can now be identified, and sections of texts of particular interest recorded on the drawings have been hand-copied in an appendix.

Bankes' role as a pioneer in the field of Egyptology, and his contribution to the study of decipherment are also examined.

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PROLOGUE

William John Bankes (1786-1855) was a brilliant and remarkable man whose contemporaries feared he would dissipate his talent and very considerable scholarship by the breadth of his interests and his volatile personality.

Educated at Harrow and then at Trinity College, Cambridge, he obtained his BA in 1808 and his MA in 1811. Rich, charming, and good-looking, as an undergraduate his conscious adoption of immense style, his wit, and his pretentious grandeur may have outshone even his fellow student Byron, who was to remain a close and lifelong friend.

He was extremely well read in the Classics, including the Classical writers on Egypt and Nubia, and he eventually also made himself familiar with most of the later and contemporary books on these areas.

By all accounts he made rather more of an impression in society than in Parliament, where from 1810 to 1812 he represented Truro as a Tory. In 1812 at the age of twenty-six, he followed in the footsteps of Byron and William Beckford to Spain and Portugal, to pursue a Bohemian lifestyle among the gypsies at Granada. He then chose the risk and adventure of travel in the Near East. He seems to have sought out danger and excitement, from clandestine trips to the forbidden mosque in Jerusalem to the very real perils attending early travellers in Egypt and Nubia.

In the aftermath of Wellington's victories in the Peninsular War he was able to send home an important collection of paintings which he augmented by later purchases in Italy.

During the years 1815-1819 Bankes travelled extensively in Egypt and the Near East where he accumulated a vast portfolio of notes, manuscripts and drawings. Their extremely high degree of accuracy makes them a very valuable record of the ancient monuments, many of which have since been damaged or lost.

On his return, Kingston Lacy was extensively redesigned, rebuilt, and refurbished to form a splendid backdrop for his paintings. He used Charles Barry,¹ whom he had met while travelling in Egypt, as his architect, but the work equally involved his own enthusiasms and expertise. Bankes was forced to enjoy the fruits of his labours and expense vicariously since he was self-exiled in Italy in his later years. His departure from England in 1841, was to avoid the repercussions of what was the second court charge to be brought against him for a homosexual offence; an incident of indecent exposure involving a guardsman in Green Park. An earlier, similar, charge had apparently been dropped with help from the Duke of Wellington, a friend of the family.

His reputation as a rather wild young monied aristocrat belies the extreme seriousness which he devoted to his scholarly interests. Unfortunately, despite constant expectations, his ultimate failure to publish has led to errors too numerous to cite in regard

¹ Later Sir Charles Barry.

to his voyages and work. The chief of these is the supposed publication of his journeys as *Travels in the East*.² No such book exists.

² See Bankes 1986, 171, Dawson and Uphill 1972, and Fiechter 1994, 268 (*bibliographie*) where it is given as '*Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor during the years 1817 and 1818*. Londres, 1823.'

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES' BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS

William John was born on 11 December 1786, the second son of Henry Bankes and Frances Woodward of Kingston Hall (later to be known as Kingston Lacy), Dorset. He became heir to the house and estates on his brother's death in 1806.³ The family were well-educated, cultured, well-travelled, and by tradition represented the family seat in Parliament. The Bankes family had been prominent and wealthy landowners in Dorset since Sir John Bankes had purchased the estates of Corfe Castle in 1635, and then those of Kingston Lacy. After the devastations of the Civil War, in which Corfe Castle was destroyed, Cromwell restored the family fortunes. Ralph Bankes, who was knighted in the Restoration, married well and built a new family seat, Kingston Hall, designed by Sir Roger Pratt. Although his expenditure left him in debt, his will showed his concern for the education and travel of his sons, and the protection of his collections of books, pictures, and objects.

Subsequent generations increased the estates, altered and improved the house and grounds, and added to the family treasures. Their fortune was augmented by the substantial income from their control of a graphite mine in Cumberland, thanks to the political manipulations and astute business sense of William John's grandfather Henry, who also consolidated his position by marriage to an heiress. William John's acquisition of major paintings while abroad, his commissioning of bronzes, and his redesign and embellishment of Kingston Lacy, merely continued a long family tradition of accumulating splendid paintings, objects and furniture. William John's own father Henry made the Grand Tour, married well, and remodelled and redecorated the house. Henry Bankes was a Member of Parliament and a Trustee for the British Museum who added works on history and Classics to his library and himself wrote, and published in 1818, *A Civil and Constitutional History of Rome*. William John's great-grandfather had published an *Abridgement of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding* in 1696.

Henry encouraged his son's interests and his purchases of paintings and William John appears to have had *carte blanche* during his father's lifetime for both his acquisitions for the house and his plans for its reconstruction. Even before his father's death William John was enjoying an income of £8000 per annum.⁴

At Cambridge, Bankes was a leading member of a 'fast' set of brilliant young men which included Byron, and John Cam Hobhouse. Byron respected his opinions, and even accepted criticism of his poetry. After Bankes' departure from Cambridge, Byron said that 'while he stayed, he ruled the roast - or rather the *roasting* - and was father of all mischiefs'; 'roasting' was a term for merciless ridicule. If Bankes was the leader of this

³ See Mitchell 1994 for the history of the house and family, and William John's collections.

select group he was also considered the most conceited and pretentious. Hobhouse comments in a letter to Byron in 1808 that 'William Bankes is here at the Master's lodge, Trinity hall, living in state so he tells me'. On Bankes explaining his need to hunt in Dorsetshire 'for popularity's sake', Hobhouse writes 'Is this not complete Corfe Castle all over?'.⁵ Byron too, ridiculed Bankes' manner, writing to Scrope Berdmore Davies in 1811, 'I am invited by you, and (now for an Omega) I am invited by Wm. Bankes to 'one of my places in Wales'!!! but which of all these places this Deponent knoweth not, do you think the Lewellyn ever invited anybody to one of his places in such a manner? One would think Corfe Castle had perched itself upon Penmaenmawr - I have heard of purse=pride and birth=pride and now we have place=pride.'⁶

His great-uncle Sir William Wynne sent him prints of English cathedrals and, emulating Fonthill, he decorated his rooms in Great Court in the Gothick taste. There he built 'an altar at which he daily burned incense, and frequently had the singing-boys dressed in their surplices to chant services', resulting in rumours that he had Roman Catholic tendencies.⁷

After two years in Parliament and one glittering London season, Bankes left England in 1812 for what was to become almost eight years of continuous travel. Byron, who had travelled in Greece and the Near East in 1810 with Hobhouse, furnished him with letters of introduction to important contacts in Gibraltar, Albania and Thebes, and also advised him to visit Ephesus and the Troad and to take some '*knicknackeries*' for presents 'to the Beys and Pachas'.⁸ Byron wrote of him, 'He is very clever, very original and has a fund of information; he is also very good natured, but he is not much of a flatterer...'⁹ (Bankes was later to stay with Byron in Italy on his return to Europe.) Like Byron, Bankes courted and, a month before he left on his travels, proposed to the heiress and blue-stocking Annabella Milbanke; Bankes was refused, Byron, eventually, was accepted.¹⁰ They married in 1815, the year in which Bankes made his first journey into Nubia.

⁴ Bankes 1986, 133.

⁵ Quoted in Bankes 1986, 128.

⁶ James 1997, 68, as quoted from Burnett 1981, 222.

⁷ Mitchell 1994, 24.

⁸ Quoted in Bankes 1986, 136.

⁹ Quoted in Mitchell 1994, 24.

¹⁰ Bankes 1986, 136.

THE REDISCOVERY OF NUBIA

The Egyptian and Nubian drawings are the product of two journeys there, made by Banks during an adventurous Grand Tour which encompassed Europe and the Near East. The portfolio also includes work commissioned by him which was carried out after his return home.

He himself travelled from Cairo up the Nile as far as the Second Cataract area, firstly alone in 1815, accompanied only by servants and guides, and then in 1818-1819 in a group including Henry Salt the British Consul-General in Egypt; Henry William Beechey, Salt's secretary; Alessandro Ricci, an Italian physician and artist; Louis-Maurice-Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds, a young French draughtsman and Baron Sack. They were joined briefly between Thebes and Philae by Giovanni Belzoni, and met and journeyed with various other travellers.

After Banks' return to England in 1819, Linant, commissioned by Banks and accompanied by Ricci on Salt's instructions, travelled up the Nile between 1821 and 1822. His task was to map accurately the course of the Nile and to discover the true site of the 'lost city' of Meroë, which had been spoken of by the Classical writers. Linant and Ricci also recorded the monuments of Siwa Oasis early in 1820 with an expedition which included Drovetti (the French consul) and Frediani.¹¹ Banks himself made a brief visit to Sinai in 1815, and the Delta in 1818 on re-entering Egypt, while Linant and Ricci visited and recorded monuments in Sinai in 1820. This catalogue includes only those drawings covering the area above the First Cataract of Egypt into what is now the Sudan, i.e. ancient Nubia.

Between them, Banks and his colleagues explored and recorded all the then-known standing monuments along the Nile from Cairo to Sennar between 1815 and 1822, clearing and excavating where necessary. Weeks were spent at major sites such as Thebes, Philae, and Abu Simbel. Continually regaled by the local inhabitants with fabulous tales of buried treasure, they followed up any report of an ancient site.

The year 1809 had seen the publication of the first of the unwieldy, twenty-four elephant-folio volumes of the *Description D'Égypte*, by Napoleon's scientific expedition, covering all aspects of ancient and modern Egypt. Together with the accessibility of more popular (and more portable) books such as Denon's *Travels* (available in translation) and the scholarly *Aegyptiaca* of William Hamilton (a book much consulted by Banks which contained among other valuable information, a transcript and translation of the Rosetta Stone) they stimulated European interest in Egypt. With the renewed opportunities for travel after 1815, the narrow Nile route, common to all travellers, was a focus for visitors. The result was an influx of those referred to by Salt as 'the rest of the travelling authors,

¹¹ Italian soldier and traveller, see Bierbrier 1995, 157.

who, as the Indian expresses it, “take walk - make book”. John Fuller found that Egypt was now filling up with travellers, while Count de Forbin was entirely put off the by the apparent ease with which family parties might travel to areas formerly the preserve of intrepid explorers.¹²

The end of the Napoleonic Wars had reopened the Grand Tour of Europe to wealthy young men. The journey might also be extended into Greece, to Constantinople and to the Near East. As Bankes’ great-uncle and mentor Sir William Wynne wrote to him early in his travels, ‘You do not I suppose begin to think as yet of a return to England as all the World is now open to the Curiosity of the Traveller’.

Mohamet Ali, an Albanian-born soldier, was ruling Egypt from 1805-1848, first as Viceroy of Egypt, an impoverished dependency of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, later independently. Some stability now replaced political disruptions in Egypt, and it became a magnet for adventurous travellers and travelling adventurers. Wishing to adapt Western technology to industry, agriculture, and irrigation in Egypt, Mohamet Ali welcomed Europeans, assisting and protecting their travels. From his patronage flowed permissions to travel, and the provision of *firman*s, which allocated areas for excavation, and authorised the removal and ‘ownership’ of antiquities. Belzoni had originally arrived in Egypt with a speculative project for a new irrigation device, Cailliaud was employed as a mineralogist, and Linant was to remain in Mohamet Ali’s service as a hydrographer.

While the areas of Thebes and the Giza pyramids were now being explored, few European travellers had passed far beyond the First Cataract, the gateway to Nubia.¹³ The rocky barrier of the Second Cataract was seldom negotiated, and places as far south as Sennar virtually unvisited. Of the early explorers, James Bruce had been the first to identify correctly the site of ancient Meroë. He returned from a long stay in Abyssinia to Aswan in 1772, travelling through Sennar and Berber.¹⁴ Between 1772 and 1821 no European was to reach Sennar. Burkhardt, the celebrated Swiss-born explorer who advised Bankes, had travelled through Nubia in 1813 and described its people and monuments.¹⁵ On his way to Abu Simbel he met Thomas Legh, travelling with the Rev. Charles Smelt and a guide, Barthow, later used by Bankes.

¹² Fuller 1829, Forbin 1819 a and b.

¹³ For early travellers to Nubia see Dewachter 1971 b, who also cites Christophe 1965 and Schiff-Giorgini 1965a. Dewachter (110, note 2) notes that, of European travellers before 1813 who went beyond the First Cataract, the anonymous Italian of 1589 did not pass beyond Ibrim; in 1738 Norden stopped at Derr; during the winter of 1801-1802. Rev. William Hamilton and his companions only reached Dabod, and in 1813, while Burkhardt succeeded in getting as far as ‘Mahass’ in the Sudan, Legh and his companions were obliged to stop at Ibrim. Dewachter, who discovered his dated graffito, is correct in thinking that Buckingham reached Dakka in 1813. On the dangers of travel, Dewachter also quotes Irby and Mangles 1823, 97, who reported that in 1816 a Russian traveller was killed near Derr. Gau and others also spoke of the hostility of the local population at Kalabsha.

¹⁴ For the discovery of Meroë, see Ahmed 1997, 1; Török 1997, xxi, 1. For Bruce, see Hill 1967, Bruce 1813. Some of the early nineteenth-century visitors to individual sites are given in the catalogue.

¹⁵ See Burkhardt 1822; Leclant 1964.

In 1821 Mohamet Ali sent his army into Nubia in pursuit of the last escaped remnants of the Mameluks, whom he had massacred in Cairo in 1811. Under the leadership of his sons, Ismail and Ibrahim, his troops successfully invaded and annexed the Funj Kingdom of Sennar.¹⁶ Cailliaud with his companion Letorzec, and George Bethune English, an American officer in the service of the Egyptian army, accompanied the train of the army led by Ibrahim Pasha, as it travelled south, and Linant and Ricci travelled in the army's wake.¹⁷ The 1820 expedition to Siwa was also made possible by Mohamet Ali's army opening up an area previously inaccessible to Europeans. In addition to an account of their archaeological work, both Cailliaud and Linant's journals chronicle the conquest of the Sudan.

Waddington and Hanbury were among the few other contemporary travellers in Nubia. Other, less-known visitors are documented here under Bankes' travels. Later, in 1828-9, the joint expedition of Champollion and Rosellini would reach the Second Cataract, but it was not until the 1830s, that both Hoskins and Ferlini explored and documented the areas further south.¹⁸

Bankes' record of Nubia and the Sudan is particularly important. Until recently, the study of the history and archaeology of the northern Sudan was somewhat neglected, tending to be regarded as subordinate to Egyptian civilisation or as a degenerate mixture of Egyptian and indigenous cultures. Today it is recognised as a significant civilisation in its own right. This renewed African perspective, the recent establishment of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society in London, and the increase in archaeological work in the Sudan, parallels the awakening of early nineteenth-century interest in the exploration of Africa. The African Association had been founded in London in 1788 for 'Promoting the Discovery of the Inland Parts of that quarter of the World', and sponsored both Burkhardt, and later, Linant. It was to William Hamilton, Secretary of the Association from 1811, that Salt sent back some of his own work on Egypt. Bankes' father was a colleague of Sir Joseph Banks, a founder member. The drama and mystery of the disappearance of Mungo Park the African explorer was well-known to the public, and Bankes' correspondence contains copies of reports on Park's possible whereabouts, collected by the British Resident at Mocha, and forwarded to the Association in London.¹⁹ Bankes himself had hoped to reach Dongola and Meroë on his second journey, and subsequently talked of returning to Egypt to investigate the sources of the Nile.²⁰

¹⁶ See Crawford 1951.

¹⁷ According to English 1823 (Preface, vii) the reason for the military action was the interruption to the 'inland commerce' as 'The chiefs of Shageia had formed themselves into a singular aristocracy of brigands' and there were civil wars distracting Sennar. Four thousand troops were sent.

¹⁸ For the history of archaeological research in the Sudan, see Hakem 1978, Ahmed 1997.

¹⁹ HJ 1/24 and 1/25.

²⁰ The Journal of Mrs Arbuthnot for 1 August 1821, quoted in Bankes 1986, 160.

The fabled Meroë, known to Bankes from the Classical authors, had replaced Napata as the centre of the Kingdom of Kush from c.300 BC until the end of the Kingdom in AD 350. Neither the sites of Napata nor Meroë were securely identified in Bankes' time, and knowledge and accurate mapping of the passage of the Nile through and beyond those regions was sketchy. Ricci seems to have imagined he had found Meroë at Sai island, while Linant wrote to Bankes expressing his surprise at the length and nature of the Dongola bend, avoided by both ancient and modern travellers. Earlier exploration had done little more than follow the centuries-old and well-travelled land-caravan trade routes, cutting across the desert between the great curves of the course of the river. There are several maps among the Bankes Mss, some made by Linant.

The Bankes Mss are a major source of lost archaeological information, and at the same time shed new light on the early history of Egyptology. Their value lies in their scope and detail, their accuracy, and the serious and studiously unromantic manner in which the recording work was carried out. Bankes' vast accumulation of information on the sites, architecture, reliefs, decoration and inscriptions, was primarily a survey and a scientific study collection, although the drawings portfolio also contains many beautiful artistic impressions. Bankes was a pioneer of the nascent science of Egyptology; his work going well beyond the type of views and descriptions found in the average contemporary travel journal. Bankes' portfolio includes descriptions, detailed site plans with orientations, measured sections and elevations, groundplans, accurate copies of reliefs and inscriptions, secondary inscriptions, views, and architectural details. While Gau and Cailliaud also produced important pictorial records and reports, both the quantity and quality of Bankes' portfolio surpasses their contribution. Because he never published, the manuscripts were never edited and no material, however seemingly trivial, had to be discarded.

Bankes recognised the importance of their epigraphy, that is, the accurate copying of relief scenes and texts for study, precisely because of their inability to understand them. This brought the advantage for us that no preconceived assumptions affected what they saw, although familiarity with the formulaic nature of many of the texts, must have come with experience. We can see this when comments are made about deviations from the norm in the frequently repeated formats such as the winged sun-disk on lintels, and in Bankes' fears about the implications of the repetitions for the historical importance of the texts.

He was aware of the imminent breakthrough in the decipherment of hieroglyphics which would at last reveal the primary sources for the history of ancient Egypt, hitherto only known from the accounts of the later Classical writers. Jean-François Champollion was to publish his first steps towards decipherment in the *Lettre a M. Dacier relative a l'alphabet des hieroglyphes phonetiques*, in 1823, and continued to build on these achievements in the following years. Simultaneously, the work of Thomas Young, who

was in close contact with Bankes, was also contributing to the study, and through him Bankes himself was to leave his mark. Young founded an Egyptian Society for the collection, dissemination and study of hieroglyphic texts.

Bankes' clear intention was to assemble as many accurate and preferably multi-lingual texts similar to the Rosetta stone, as possible, in order to facilitate the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script. Greek and Coptic inscriptions could be understood and helped to date the monuments, so Bankes copied all that he found. In these initial stages, Bankes was advised by Young to concentrate on recording the cartouches which gave the names of kings.

This was perhaps the first serious attempt to make a comprehensive and accurate epigraphic record of wall scenes and, above all, hieroglyphic and other inscriptions, since the appearance of the massive *Description*, considered to be the first publication which put the study of ancient Egypt on a scientific basis.²¹ The scrupulous Bankes checked it carefully against his own evidence and he lets us know that he frequently found it wanting.²² At 'Gau' (Qau el Kebir), he noted that the *Description* was, 'as usual, highly inaccurate'.²³ The considered record he planned to make would also eschew the spontaneous generalities of so many of his contemporaries and ex-companions who to his disdain and annoyance rushed into print, usually, even more infuriatingly, without consulting him first. Bankes' own failure to produce any published version of his travels became an irritant which soured his relationships with those who did, and resulted in bitterness and scathing criticisms.

Most of these journals of travels in Egypt and Nubia contained descriptive passages on the monuments and sites, but the illustrations tended to be of reliefs or views, engraved after the original drawings. Until the epigraphic record made by Lepsius in the 1840s, perhaps only Gau, among his immediate contemporaries, who produced a professional architect's view with plans and sections of the monuments he visited, can stand up to comparison with Bankes' pictorial record. The illustrations in travel books, unless in a separate large atlas of plates, were often far too small to be useful. Views were often repetitive, since everybody took them from the most photogenic angle, so that certain parts of monuments never appear.

Bankes' technique produced results very close to modern methods of epigraphy, and judging by his annotations, he himself checked many of the drawings. The line-

²¹ Bankes ordered his own copy of part of the *Description* which was sent directly from Paris to England in July 1818. Individual volumes appeared between 1809-1828.

²² Fuller, who met Bankes at the consulate in Cairo in 1819, was of the same opinion, finding the *Description* 'in many parts inaccurate to a degree scarcely to be credited by those who have not had an opportunity of comparing it with the originals on the spot'. Fuller 1829, 230.

²³ Finati 1830, 100.

drawing at Beit el Wali produced virtually the same record as was made by the renowned Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1967.²⁴

Unlike many earlier (and some contemporary) European depictions of ancient Egyptian art and architecture, the Bankes drawings remained extremely true to their subject matter. 'The European gentleman in Egypt, sketching a temple or a wall painting, would distort the scene according to the tradition familiar to him; his sketch might then be redrawn by a professional draughtsman who had not seen the original, and if the picture was to be engraved, a third hand would reinterpret it, "improving" subtly and perhaps unconsciously.'²⁵ A classic example of this process can be seen in the illustrations of the harpist at the Valley of the Kings, Thebes for James Bruce's work *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, which appeared in 1790. 'Similar tendencies appear in many European depictions of Egyptian architecture; proportions of columns are altered, and temple frieze designs are assimilated to Grecian triglyphs and metopes. By such means artists unwittingly fostered the belief that Egyptian forms were the immediate ancestors of Classical art.'²⁶ Bankes' failure to publish had the advantage that the drawings which were made on the spot were never worked up by others nor 'improved'.

Beechey warned Bankes of this problem in relation to the proposed publication of Linant's work, which would give 'general satisfaction, particularly if Murray pays attention to the plates and the engraver does not give some fanciful effect destructive of the character of the drawings'.²⁷ Fuller complained of engravings in the *Description* 'which bear scarcely any resemblance to the objects they profess to represent... many of which were made by inferior hands, the *Ingenieurs des ponts et des chaussées*'. He also considered that even the artist's drawings showed ancient buildings as they were supposed to have been rather than as they were, and the artists were altogether 'too fond of restorations'. Even when the drawings were good, such as Bossi's for Edward Cooper, the publication rendered 'the scale too small' for details to be seen clearly.

For modern archaeologists, a study of this early nineteenth-century material can provide 'new' information on Egyptian and Nubian monuments, now moved, damaged, or entirely destroyed. Monuments, often only preserved by being adapted to Christian worship, remained intact due to disuse, isolation, and general disinterest, until their rediscovery by nineteenth-century European travellers and scholars.

The increasing damage to the ancient monuments of Lower Nubia as the Aswan barrage was extended, culminated in the crisis caused by the erection of the High Dam. The creation of Lake Nasser, between 1960 and 1970, flooded the area between the First

²⁴ Also see James 1997, 207ff on the advantages of 'the closest personal observation' over photography.

²⁵ Conner 1983, 9.

²⁶ Conner 1983, 9.

²⁷ HJ 1/171.

and Second Cataracts. Many of the monuments were submerged and destroyed, although a major international effort was made to record the threatened area through studies and surveys. In extraordinary feats of engineering accomplished by international co-operation, many of the colossal stone temples, such as Abu Simbel and Philae, were cut up, dismantled, then reconstructed but relocated to safe positions above water level. In this great Unesco salvage operation, others were transported to far-flung museums around the world in recognition of international aid. Either way they became displaced from their original environment.

Even today, sites such as Qasr Ibrim are still threatened by the rising levels of the lake, and there are dangers to other sites in Egypt and Nubia from environmental changes, increasing industrialisation, population growth, and the intensification of agriculture. The indigenous people of the Lower Nubian area, whose ancestors' cultural customs and everyday lives in the villages and towns along the Nile were chronicled by the early travellers, were also displaced, and forced to leave their ancient homelands.

From Bankes' first visit in 1815 until the present time, probably more ancient remains were lost than in the previous centuries. While the rapacious depredations of rival early nineteenth-century European collectors were to strip Egypt of many of her treasures to the ultimate benefit of European museums, it was often correctly felt at the time that leaving objects *in situ* would probably lead to their destruction. It was thus possible to argue that Egypt's ancient culture was being rescued rather than plundered; the modern concept of preserving archaeological contexts was then unknown. In reality, it was unnecessary to offer any rationale, since neither the Turkish administration nor the Arab population were interested in preventing the European onslaught. The indigenous population were in no position to do so, and from Bankes' account generally seem to have regarded the travellers as slightly mad but a useful source of income. They assumed any excavation to be treasure-hunting. Neither Turks nor Arabs regarded ancient Egypt and its remains as their own cultural heritage, while Europeans like Bankes brought an entirely different aesthetic to the antiquities. In ancient Egypt they sought connections with the Classical world which formed the basis of their own culture and civilisation.

Within their own lifetimes our travellers in Egypt noted the disappearance of entire temples at places such as Elephantine, the continuing collapse of standing elements of architecture such as columns, and the general disinterest, or even active vandalism of the Turkish administrators. Between 1810 and 1828 thirteen entire temples were lost,²⁸ and countless objects were removed from their contexts, not only as cultural icons to be admired abroad. Ancient alluvial mud-brick was re-cycled as a fertiliser, limestone was burned for fuel, and, as in ancient times, stone was used for other building work. Even in

²⁸Vercoutter 1992, 82.

later years, it took considerable ingenuity and effort for Linant to dissuade Mohamet Ali from dismantling the pyramids in order to use the stones for a river barrage.²⁹

While Mohamet Ali looked to Europe to take Egypt into a modern future, European travellers were inspired by Egypt's past. Mixed motives inspired the passion for European collecting at this time; financial gain often co-existing with a genuine and scientific interest in ancient Egypt and its civilisation. What were once just the curiosities of antiquarians were now the subject of intense study. Objects could be protected by being sold to European museums to be studied by specialists and viewed by the public, and there was burgeoning demand from institutions such as the British Museum and, what is today, the Louvre. Egyptology (the term was not yet in use) was in its infancy as a scientific study. Archaeology as it is understood today did not exist.

Bankes appears to have had an ambivalent attitude towards the collection of Egyptian antiquities. He may have been reluctant to damage intact monuments by actively breaking them up; the coveted head of 'Memnon'³⁰ and the Philae obelisk³¹ were both already loose fragments. He did not cut out the Abydos king-list, but perhaps that simply proved too difficult since Finati states; 'He did not attempt the removal of it, for it is built of several stones'.³² He had no compunctions however about 'detaching' and removing sections of stucco paintings from 'one of the most interesting and best preserved of the lesser tombs' in Thebes. Although they contain very beautiful and interesting scenes, Bankes was more concerned with their antiquity and his ability to date them by means of the cartouches on the Abydos king-list.³³

He evidently made some strong views on the subject of damage known, for Bartholomew Frere writes to him in Cairo, 'I sympathise with you most sincerely in all your reflections upon the barbarity of the destruction which I hear from all parts is carrying on in Egypt'. Frere thought it would continue so long as 'our Maudlin Dilletante Ladies... will crowd to see a fragment because it comes from they do not perhaps know where; how few travellers there are whose vanity is proof against such allurements?'³⁴ One of Bankes' few publications concerned his Philae obelisk, but if scholarship alone had been the only criteria for its removal, surely a copy of the text, such as Bankes made at Abydos, would have sufficed.

²⁹ Linant de Bellefonds 1872-3, 420.

³⁰ The colossal granite head of Ramesses II, now in the British Museum, EA 19, which was later removed by Belzoni and presented to the British Museum by Salt and Burkhardt.

³¹ The pink granite obelisk inscribed with the names of Ptolemy IX, his sister Cleopatra, and his wife, also named Cleopatra, was one of a pair placed before the temple of Isis, Philae. Its pedestal records tax exemptions awarded by the same ruler to the priesthood of the temple. Habachi 1977, 106-8.

³² Finati 1830, 343. It was later removed by Mimaut and is now in the British Museum (EA 117). It is made up of half-a-dozen separate pieces.

³³ Finati 1830, 343.

³⁴ HJ 1/77; envelope marked received 31 January 1818.

Linant also deplored the damage which he found and conceived of more active motives for the destruction than mere passive disregard. He tried to revisit the temple at Elephantine with an English gentleman, 'mais je n'ai pu même en voir une trace, et pas même un éclat de guerre. C'est Mehemet Bey... qui a eu la brutalité de détruire ces antiquités par haine pour les Europeans et a ce qu'il dit pour qu'ils ne viennent plus l'ennuyer a Assouan...' ³⁵

³⁵ HJ 1/185, 22 November 1822.

THE DRAWINGS

‘the unequalled treasures of drawings and inscriptions’³⁶

Bankes’ fascination with Egypt has left a portfolio of drawings and watercolours at the family house, Kingston Lacy in Dorset.

The existence of the drawings is known to Egyptologists but with a few exceptions they have never previously been studied or published. They were removed to the Griffith Institute, Oxford between about 1940 and 1961, where Rosalind Moss and Ethel Burney listed them³⁷ for the compilation of the Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, a major research resource for Egyptology which attempts to record every pictorial image of the ancient monuments.³⁸ The drawings were either identified, numbered, and listed, or relegated to a ‘Miscellaneous’ group. Some photographs made at this time have been available to scholars, but neither the medium of the drawings nor their annotations show up clearly. The drawings then returned to Kingston Lacy where they remained in the possession of the Bankes family. Together with the house, its contents and estates, they passed to the National Trust in 1981.

The portfolio contains some fifteen hundred separate sheets of paper of varying sizes and types, covered with drawings made in Egypt and Nubia. The work is largely unsigned and undated, with individual work unidentified. In this study, most can now be reasonably attributed to their authors on stylistic criteria, and work by Bankes from 1815 differentiated from that of 1818-19.

The drawings and watercolours range from very rough pencil sketches and diagrams, these often on folded sheets containing several drawings on both sides of the paper, to highly finished compositions in ink or watercolour. A few large sheets contain full-sized tracings.³⁹ Drawing sizes vary from tiny scraps to large views of approximately 30 x 50 cm. and extended panoramas.

The watermarks, showing paper of English and Italian origin, are varied and sometimes dated, giving a *terminus a quo* for some drawings. Paper was often stored for

³⁶ Young 1823, 30.

³⁷ This list is referred to here as the PM Manuscript List.

³⁸ Porter, B. and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings*. Published in seven volumes, 1927-1951, and six volumes of the second edition 1960-81.

³⁹ Apparently no paper ‘squeezes’ (wetting the paper to form an impression, a technique later used by Wilkinson) were taken for the portfolio. Bankes wrote on a drawing of a female harper from the tomb of Renni at El Kab (III. C. 18), that ‘this figure was obtained by pressing the paper up on the wall of one of the grottoes’, but it appears to have just been pressed to the wall and traced over. Belzoni took wax impressions of reliefs in the tomb of Seti I to reproduce a full-sized model for his exhibition in London. He used a mixture of wax, resin and fine dust, but noted that it was difficult to take the impressions without damaging the colours. The reliefs at Beit el Wali and many other monuments were later stripped of almost all colour by a similar process. Since Ricci had worked with Belzoni he would doubtless have been aware of the wax technique. See Belzoni 1822, II, 17.

some years before use, so the watermarks do not usually represent the actual date of the work. Nevertheless, most of the 1808 and 1809 watermark dates do contain works from Bankes' earliest journey in 1815.

Paper of several different qualities and colours was used. Linant seems to have preferred a creamy, fairly thick drawing paper in a standard small or medium size which probably came from sketchbooks, while Bankes often uses a rougher textured paper in cream or blue for his own work. Some very thin sheets of paper are found, but these were not specifically used for tracing.

Barry reported all the drawings he was shown on the course of the 1819 journey to be in pencil. If so, fine ink outlines then corrected earlier errors, and colour notes transformed some into watercolours.⁴⁰ All Linant's 1821-22 works are highly finished but remained in pencil. Bankes' murky watercolour views contrast with the vivid colours of Ricci's reliefs.

No mention is made by Bankes or any of his artists for the use of any kind of optical aid for drawing in perspective or copying although it would have been possible for any of the artists to have made use of a camera lucida or a camera obscura. It is not specifically named as part of Bankes' drawing equipment. James Silk Buckingham simply made use of a window-pane when copying a drawing with Bankes in Sinai.⁴¹ Bankes is said by Irby and Mangles to be travelling in Syria with two paint boxes⁴² and he himself tells us that, 'my servant carried as usual upon his horse all the apparatus necessary for drawing & planning, as a case of tin for very large sheets of paper, a portfolio for those of more moderate size, drawing instruments & implements of every description.'⁴³ No doubt much of the apparatus was for surveying or measuring to construct accurate plans. A drawing-aid might account for Bankes' evident skills in draughtsmanship unless he had obtained some kind of early tuition, for which we have no evidence.

The camera lucida was a small, easily portable apparatus much in use before the advent of photography. It was invented at the beginning of the nineteenth century and only patented in 1806 but it is possible that 1818 may have been too early to find it in common use. After 1824 Robert Hay was using it in Egypt for geographical panoramas; his assistant Joseph Bonomi had known its inventor Dr Woolaston.⁴⁴ Hoskins was happy to admit to its use since as a result 'I can vouch for the position of every stone.'⁴⁵ The camera lucida throws a virtual image on the paper which can then be traced with a pencil. It is impossible to tell if it has been used as there are no dots or tell-tale marks on the paper. It

⁴⁰ Salt notes his own drawings of the tomb of Seti I were '*coloured* in the tomb by candle-light', Halls 1834, II, 54.

⁴¹ Buckingham 1825, Appendix.

⁴² Irby and Mangles 1823, 481.

⁴³ This is from the draft of a statement for use against Buckingham, showing that the journey was entirely his own enterprise. HJ 1/97

⁴⁴ Tillet 1984, 13-14.

results in rather boring, flat perspectives and flat outlines, entirely suitable for a draughtsman but of less use to a real artist who might wish to combine several perspectives in one picture. Although it sounds like an easy option it is actually quite a difficult instrument to use.

The camera obscura, an optical device using a darkened chamber was larger and less portable, although in use much earlier. Since Linant makes very slighting remarks about Cailliaud's need to use it, clearly hinting at his own superior skills of draughtsmanship, we might assume that he did not use one himself. 'Je ris beaucoup de voir que Monsieur Cailliaud, qui prenait quelques vues avec sa chambre obscure...' ⁴⁶

Salt mentions devices for diverting light sources to illuminate interiors; otherwise it seems candles were used. At Abu Simbel they formed a great candelabra. There, Banks was finally able to capture all the details of the Battle of Qadesh scene 'by making a great blaze of light' (which he then corrected to read, 'by creating[?] a large steady[?] body of light'). Salt described this as 'a new contrivance for giving light within the temple'.⁴⁷ It may have been a device to reflect the light from the entrance onto the side wall, similar to the simple mirrors used by the local guides for tourists today.

Many of the drawings were annotated on the spot. Brief aide-memoires record colours and corrections to be made, titles identify the subjects. Other notes and descriptions are more lengthy, and some numbered 'drawings' identified in the PM Manuscript List as 'description' are entirely written, most of these by Banks. Some form fragments of his never-to-be-realised travel journal of 1815. Others contain his observations, and speculations on ancient Egyptian architecture including his theories on the origins and relationship of Egyptian and Classical Greek architecture. As his own experience increased he was able to attempt some wide-ranging comparisons.

The two manuscript Banks Albums now held in the Egyptian Antiquities Department, were rebound and presented by G. Nugent Banks to the British Museum in 1923. They form part of the same group of Egyptian papers as those which remained at Kingston Lacy. The preservation of the original leather bindings and hand-written label 'Nubia', together with the format of folded sheets of equal size, show that before their presentation they were not loose papers but already two bound notebooks, consisting of 133 and 144 pages respectively. They contain notes made at a number of sites in Egypt and Nubia which consist of descriptions, a few drawings and diagrams, and many copied inscriptions, mainly Greek, but also Coptic and Arabic.

Part-journal, part-notebook, they were written by Banks himself in 1818-19 and frequently repeat or enlarge on his descriptions on the drawings. The entries do not always follow in a sequential topographical order, but some sections form a continuous narrative

⁴⁵ Hoskins 1835, 85.

⁴⁶ Shinnie 1958, 186.

⁴⁷ Banks letter, HJ 1/98. Salt's letter to William Hamilton, Halls, II, 141.

journal. The pages were numbered by PM for the compilation of their publication. Despite difficulties of legibility, they provide an additional tool to elucidate the drawings, and an important record in their own right.

The typed PM Manuscript List was up until now the only index for the drawings. Copies are found at Kingston Lacy and the British Museum. PM also made out a similar list for the portfolio of drawings which remained with Linant's descendants in France, and are now in the Bibliothèque du Louvre in Paris. This list makes a correlation between Linant's drawings in France and in the Bankes portfolio, but a brief examination of the drawings in Paris showed that although the general subject matter was the same, the actual drawing was in some cases not identical. In addition, there were drawings which appeared in one portfolio which were not in the other.

The PM brief did not extend to attributions, drawings which did not record monuments, or the unidentified 200-odd 'Miscellaneous' drawings. (Many of the latter have now been identified.) Christian monuments, such as churches and monasteries were also excluded, although Nubian fortresses were included as a category.

The 'Miscellaneous' papers contain many items of interest; both drawings and writings. They include landscapes, maps, copies of non-Egyptian inscriptions, correspondence, natural history (both flora and fauna), local costumes, Sudan village scenes, lists of drawings made out by Salt and Linant, drawings and notes concerning the Philae obelisk, and Linant's plans to transport a larger obelisk from Alexandria. There is a twenty-five page travelogue of Bankes' journey from Alexandria to Cairo, a list of sites on the Nile which Bankes should see, compiled for him by Burckhardt, a notebook similar to the Bankes Albums, Linant's manuscript *Instruction sur le voyage de la petite Oasis*, Bankes' translation of his obelisk's Greek inscription for a model which was displayed at the Royal Museum, Matlock,⁴⁸ various contemporary printed works on Egypt, itineraries, notes taken by Bankes from his reading, the manuscript draft of Finati's *Life and Adventures*, and some preparatory work for the engraving of the stones for the projected publication of inscriptions.

There was no strict division of the papers and while some were left with the portfolio at Kingston Lacy, others were taken to the Dorset County Record Office in Dorchester, where Bankes' correspondence, now catalogued, and the portfolio from his other Near Eastern travels are stored.

The correspondence contains little of a personal nature but there are some informative letters between Bankes and his contemporaries who were interested in Egypt, several from Thomas Young. From these it appears that Bankes never corresponded

⁴⁸ Conner 1983, 101.

directly with Champollion. There are a large number of letters from Salt who reported back on the progress of Linant's Sudan expedition in 1821-22, and the difficulties which afterward ensued.

I found the drawings arranged into topographical order, running north to south; in other words replicating the journey up-river but with no division made between the earlier and later journeys. Drawings had originally been packed into large manilla envelopes, approximately 48 x 72 cm., and marked in black ink with the site names, apparently by or for Bankes. The titles only refer to the area covered in 1815 and 1818-19; they are not titled for the 1821-22 journey. The titles⁴⁹ (in order north to south) read: 'BEN'Y HASSAN', 'DENDERA', 'Thebes', 'HERMENT', '1st cataract with ELEPHANTINA SEEHALE & BIDGY', 'PHILEE' [crossed out and replaced by 'PHILAE'], 'DEBODE', 'GARTAAS & GAMLAY', 'Teyfa', KALAPSHÉ', 'BEIT EL WALY', 'DENDOOOR', 'GERSHIE HASSAN', 'DEKKÉ', 'MAHARRAKA', 'SEBOUAH', 'AMADA', 'DERR', 'IBRIM', 'great TEMPLE IPSOMBOL', 'MASHAKEET', 'WADI HALFA & 2d CATARACT', 'SEMNEH', and a further envelope is blank. There is also a rust-coloured, hardback, marbled folder with leather edges and corners, with 'Sinai' on the label. The envelopes were stored in two finely-made, shelved, tin cabinets, painted to resemble wood, and with the painted title, 'Egyptian Drawings'. Originally kept in the main library of the house, they now occupy the former nursery, an upper floor bedroom with a fine view across the garden to the obelisk.

Even where titles are given, site names may still prove elusive. Nineteenth-century travellers generally recorded the unfamiliar Arabic names phonetically, and often using the nearest village name to identify ruins. Even individual travellers were inconsistent in their usage. The Arabic 'B' sound was often written as 'P', giving 'Kalabsha' or 'Kalapshe'.⁵⁰ Shinnie⁵¹ was able to identify the Sudan villages of Linant's journal by equating them with similar-sounding known village names, since Linant described their locations and gave travel times between them. Phonetic recording, spelling and accents can usefully indicate the native language of the artist, whether French, Italian or English.⁵² Gradual familiarity with this usage during the cataloguing process now enables formerly confusingly titled drawings such as Linant's view of 'Massaquette' to be identified. This is a French version of Bankes' 'Massakate', the travellers' name for Gebel Shems, just south of Abu Simbel. In their letters and journals, travellers often took an equally cavalier attitude to individual surnames, probably as a result of their having been heard rather than read. Cailliaud refers to 'Binks' (Bankes), others refer to 'Banks', and Bankes himself refers to 'Linon'.

⁴⁹ All overwritten with modern titles by the compilers of PM.

⁵⁰ Curto et al. 1965, 6, 'un'oscillazione b - p , dovuta al fatto che l'arabo possiede una sola labiale, intermedia fra le nostre...'

⁵¹ Shinnie 1958.

THE ARTISTS AND ATTRIBUTION

Since Bankes did not succeed in travelling further than Wadi Omki (near Wadi Halfa) on his first journey up the Nile, or Sai island on his second journey, we can safely assume that any drawings made from that point southwards into the Sudan were made by Linant and Ricci on their journey upriver with Finati. Ricci as we know did not visit certain places as they were not together for the whole journey, so only Linant can have been responsible for drawings from some of the sites.

Wherever possible an attribution to the individual members of the party has been attempted for the catalogue, despite frequently being based on rather slender stylistic inferences.

Alessandro Ricci

The main burden of the work of copying reliefs and inscriptions was carried out by Ricci, who came to the work after almost a year's experience at Thebes. This evidently became his speciality, and other than the occasional measured plan (referred to sometimes in his diary) on which his numbering can be identified, Ricci did not make drawings of any other kind; neither views nor work of a more artistic nature such as portraits or even odd sketches. He produced fine drawings of a very high calibre, whether pencil alone, ink outlines, ink and wash, or watercolour. He often used grey, rather than black ink, and a combination of heavy and light lines or shading, to imitate the effect of light on the raised or sunk relief. He did not number his drawings for Bankes except when he needed to link a series of reliefs, parts of the same wall or chamber for example, in which case he numbered them 1, 2, 3, etc. In contrast, his work in Florence shows that he used various series of Roman numerals for 'Tavola' (plate) numbers, presumably for actual or projected publications.⁵³

His position in the party was that of a salaried employee of Bankes for his drawings and his medical services; hired on the basis of his time rather than for specific work.⁵⁴ His own diary shows that Bankes put him to work immediately upon arrival at a site on the journey out. He produced a prodigious quantity of work, and must have worked very quickly and very accurately. Although Beechey was a trained artist, his own drawings show more corrective notes and over-running lines of text than the sure hand of

⁵² However Bankes also used an é for 'Girshé' and 'Kalapshé'.

⁵³ Usick 1998.

⁵⁴ 'Mr. Bankes... having engaged Dr. Ricci... both as physician and draughtsman...' Finati, 1830, 301. In the letters written after the trip, Salt lays claim to having employed Linant but not Ricci (see Halls, II, 121-2, 133).

Ricci, where few major alterations to his copies seem to be visible in the pencil underdrawing. He was evidently by now an accomplished judge of scale.

Ricci annotated the majority of his drawings in Italian, often giving the site and a brief description of the position of the subject (e.g. left wall entering, second chamber etc.). Very occasionally his annotations are in English.

While there are no easily distinctive features to his hieroglyphs they are sometimes less than fine, and although generally very accurate there are minor errors, and very occasional lapses when he transposes columns of text. Linant's work was often on a smaller scale, this can be noted particularly when they both drew the same subject. Ricci kept to a fairly consistent scale. He had a more individual way of presenting relief figures, especially their stature and profiles, and the reliefs are usually 'framed' by outlines.

His drawings of Gebel Barkal were annotated by Salt. None of his work is signed but he had a distinctive hand and an elaborate style of numbering.

Ricci's diary of the 1818-19 outward journey was discovered, unrecognised, among the correspondence at Dorset County Archive. Although merely laconic notes, it provides insights into his work as well as the journey.

Henry William Beechey

Beechey, son of the distinguished portrait painter, Sir William Beechey RA, was a professionally trained, practising painter, and consequently the artistic quality of Beechey's drawing style is easy to detect in his views. His accomplished command of crayon and pen has a bold fluency which is particularly evident in the presentation of human figures in his views. This is in great contrast to Linant's work, where despite the delicacy of the views, the figures are frequently rather wooden. Beechey's work, especially the watercolours and some heavy chalk or charcoal work, is very evocative of mood, for example a scene at Abu Simbel in moonlight. His finished drawing technique for views uses fine hatching in black ink, while Linant preferred shading in soft pencil. His hieroglyphic copying has an elegance, and stylish skill that distinguishes it from Ricci's rather more pedestrian efforts. Hieroglyphs are often exquisitely drawn in fine detail with double lines in black ink, and his hieroglyphic signs representing birds have a wonderfully realistic life-like quality to them by the use of just a few simple strokes. Beechey's views are often numbered on the verso in a particular and consistent style, using black ink. They appear to be the original form of the work rather than a finished copy, often containing pencil annotations on the surface of the actual drawing. This would not be found if he had simply given Bankes fair copies of his original work at a later time. Annotations often include corrections which were required. Perhaps parts of the drawings should have been larger, smaller, or more over to one side or the other. Even Beechey, with his fine eye and steady hand, found it

difficult when beginning a drawing of a hieroglyphic inscription to ensure that he would have sufficient room on the sheet to finish it all. His annotations are often jotted down in a brief note form over several lines, separated by dashes, and usually in pencil directly on the face of the drawing rather than below it or to one side. His handwriting is distinctive although his numbering is difficult to distinguish from that of Bankes.

What his arrangement with Bankes was which resulted in so many of his drawings remaining in Bankes' possession is not explicitly stated. Because of his position as 'private secretary'⁵⁵ to Salt, one would have expected that he would have been working for Salt rather than Bankes, but it seems he was in a position to offer his drawings to Bankes. Since Salt's own drawings are mainly lost, it is not possible to say how many other drawings Beechey may have contributed to Salt's portfolio.

Beechey's output covered all aspects of their work: finished views, rough sketches, relief and text copying, measured plans, and architectural details. It seems likely that he worked closely with Bankes on the plans; measuring and noting in the same way that Buckingham describes his own disputed 'collaboration' with Bankes in Syria. When Bankes suffered from opthalmia towards the end of the second journey, it was Beechey who took over the 'architectural' work to enable their study to be completed.

Beechey's figures in relief scenes have a tendency to be slightly more elegant and elongated than those of Ricci, and although there is expressly not an attempt to give a Classical finish to them, are perhaps less true to the original style of the reliefs. None of his work is signed.

Louis-Maurice-Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds

Linant's work from 1818-19 is occasionally signed 'A. Linant'; his later work of 1821-22 is frequently signed, and generally more highly finished. His drawings are often numbered, and we know that he kept copies of almost all his work for Bankes, presumably as an investment for his future. Despite hopes of selling his own copies of work produced for Bankes, they remained in the hands of his descendants, and are now in the Bibliothèque du Louvre, Paris.

His journal speaks of sheltering from inclement weather and working-up drawings on site. He also used time spent procrastinating at Alexandria over his journey to England in 1823 in finishing a number of them, and still had further work to do on them in England.

⁵⁵ D'Athanasia 1836, 6; Finati 1830, 303, 'the secretary Mr. Beechey'.

On their 1818-1819 voyage Salt described Linant as 'an artist, whom I had engaged to accompany me'.⁵⁶ Bankes' version (via Finati) describes him simply as 'Monsieur Linant, who had offered himself also as assistant draughtsman and to take observations...'⁵⁷ He was probably employed by Salt, as he accompanied him back to Cairo when he was taken ill. This accounts for relatively few of the 1818-19 drawings being by Linant, since most of the recording was completed on their return journey.

Linant has distinctive handwriting and elaborate and equally distinctive numbering. His drawing technique, views of monuments, treatment of landscape, figures, and watercolour style, are consistent and usually easily recognisable.

Linant used several different sequences of numbers simultaneously on his drawings, which refer to lists, of which we possess only two. Confusingly, some numbers seem to have added on the spot, while others refer to his journal or list drawings which were sent back to England. The French versions contain even more numbers on a single drawing, and a baffling series of letter/number identifications.

Annotations are in French, and the phonetic recording of names show a French speaker. His preferred medium for views is pencil but he also produced very fine, highly finished watercolours views. His palette was similar to that used by Ricci but not exactly identical. Their drawings of similar scenes from Abu Simbel although superficially quite similar in colour and scale, reveal a marked difference on closer inspection.

The fine quality of his architectural drawing is marred by his lack of expertise in figure-drawing. He was young and inexperienced when he joined Bankes but Salt writes that by 1821 the quality of his work was much improved. His human figures are added primarily to give a scale to the monuments, but occasionally for compositional purposes. Tiny, stick-figures are sometimes shown to emphasise the distance. While both Salt and Beechey both trained as professional artists, Linant was at best an efficient draughtsman, whose technical skills were acquired on his training in seamanship, although this is also said to have included painting.⁵⁸

An examination of the manuscript copy of Linant's Meroë journal at Kingston Lacy⁵⁹ showed that it contains red ink annotations in the margins corresponding to asterisks in the text, e.g. 'Des N° 23'. This is his abbreviation for 'Dessin Numéro 23', i.e. drawing number 23. These had not been noticed before, although they can be seen on the journal page published by Shinnie.⁶⁰ The numbers of this sequence run from 1-92, are written neatly on the verso of some of his drawings in red ink, below the titles, and help to identify the drawings. Linant's journal contains very accurate and detailed descriptions of what he saw at the sites, particularly relating the position of one group of ruins to another,

⁵⁶ Halls 1834, II, 133.

⁵⁷ Finati 1830, 302.

⁵⁸ Mazuel 1937, 5.

⁵⁹ Referred to specifically in the catalogue by the term 'Linant Mss Journal'.

and if one follows his progress over the more complex ruins, such as those of Gebel Barkal, it is possible to pinpoint the exact area he has drawn, even when that structure may not have survived. The existence of this number sequence perhaps indicates that a separate volume of plates was planned for the journal.

One surviving list in Linant's own hand gives eleven drawings made by himself, and a further ten copies of Salt's work. The category of anonymous drawings in the collection which Bankes meticulously marked as 'copied from Mr Salt' are difficult to ascribe to any particular artist on stylistic grounds. Since they form a separate, but homogenous group in terms of their style, a single hand seems likely. Although they have an artistic fluency which is unlike Linant's own work, they are probably all copied by him, and some of them can be clearly identified by this list. Some, here in pencil or ink, must have been copied from Salt's watercolours, as they are annotated as to the colours. Other than these few copies owned by Bankes it seems that Salt kept his own work separate, as Barry noted. There do not appear to be any of Salt's own drawings in the portfolio, and the scrupulous marking of the copies seems to confirm this. Salt's own writing, as seen on Ricci's Gebel Barkal drawings is also quite distinctive.

A second list of numbered drawings made by Linant on the Meroë journey which he was to take back to England is in Salt's hand, dated 'Febr. 8 1823', and titled, 'List of Mr Linants sketches &c taken home by him [~~'later drawn by'~~] H. Salt for Mr Bankes.'⁶¹ The list constituted a safeguard that all the drawings specified would be delivered up to Bankes. At the end of the list is written, 'Je declare d'avoir en mes mains tous les dessins qui soit ici numerotis et aussi le papyrus moins les trois premières pages - ce que je dois donnés a Monsieur Bankes en arrivant en Angleterre et de plus l'histoire de Sennare en Arabe - signed A. Linant. - also 22 sketches of Ricci in the mountains of Mount Sinai - true copy - Henry Salt.' The list briefly describes the 154 drawings, under the headings of their sites and an alphabetic reference from A-M. (Salt also used a similar system of alphabetic letters to itemise the watercolours in the British Museum⁶² and in making a key for Ricci's drawings from Gebel Barkal.) Separately listed are nineteen 'Large Views', 'The Greek Papyrus', '6 journal books', 3 small books to form the charts', and 'a small Arabick[?] Manuscript containing History of Kings of Sennar & Halfa'.

This previously unknown list has been an invaluable help in identifying the subject matter and exact date of many of the drawings in Bankes' portfolio and in Paris.

⁶⁰ Shinnie 1958, pl. I.

⁶¹ HJ 1/201.

⁶² Bierbrier 1983.

Henry Salt

Although, as we have seen, none of the drawings can be directly attributed to Salt, there is a list, made out in Bankes' hand of Salt's drawings (see the Miscellaneous section). Unfortunately the numbers do not seem to correlate to any of the drawings in the portfolio.

William John Bankes

Bankes' own drawings of views are often rather amateur and clumsy, and his watercolours both sombre and insipid. His copies of hieroglyphic reliefs and inscriptions are poor compared with his facility in copying the Greek/Coptic inscriptions, reflecting his familiarity with that language and script. He never seems to have developed any ease in hieroglyphic copying, and instead used the skilled and experienced services of Ricci. He was sometimes careless in the directions of the hieroglyphs, and many drawings show the script in a schematic form only. His own enthusiasms are reflected in any architectural detailing he drew, which shows sound draughtsmanship, and is usually accompanied by part-watercolour. Structural features finely drawn in ink are often uncomfortably juxtaposed with the more slapdash treatment of the watercolour background.

The majority of the measured plans appear to have been made by Bankes, judging by the annotations and numbering, although they were doubtless achieved with assistance. Bankes' numbers are small and plain and '9' is written with a curved tail, unlike Beechey's straight tails. In fractions, Bankes' dividing line is generally horizontal, while Beechey's is oblique. The use of a fleur-de-lis to indicate north on the compass orientations is likely to indicate Bankes' work. It was one of the family emblems and can be seen on the roof decoration of the house. At Cambridge he is said to have 'decorated his rooms in Great Court in the Gothick taste with much Bankes heraldry'.⁶³

Of the few botanical and zoological studies among the drawings, Bankes only drew a turtle and a single plant. He did however also make detailed notes about a hyena and a hippopotamus.

The earlier and later journeys show some contrast in the style of both drawings and descriptions. The 1815 series of formal plans and descriptions in elaborate script seem intended to form part of a publication. At the same time, he was producing a fragmentary journal on odd sheets of paper which, although frequently corrected, was informal and some way from publication standard. His early descriptions, often in sepia ink, have a very self-conscious and didactic prose style and vocabulary, as he rather portentously

⁶³ Mitchell 1994, 24.

gives his opinions on subjects such as the antiquity of the ruins, or their relationship to Classical examples.

The descriptive notes of the second trip, found at length in the Bankes Albums, and as annotations to the drawings, are less contrived and formal in style and far less pedantic. The earlier pretentious tone of both the archaeological and architectural writing is replaced by a more natural, confident and less self-conscious, rapid note-taking. He is concerned with putting as much information down as quickly as possible without much editing, although there is the odd word or phrase crossed out and replaced. A clear and detailed description and an immediate record of exactly what he found now replaces a worked-up description containing his opinions. This objective observation, the freshness and simplicity resulting from the obvious speed of the writing, and the amount of detail, make his work closer to a modern site report than either the published records of his contemporaries or probably any more contrived work he himself might ever have produced. Comments on Classical sources or comparisons are relegated to notes, usually added later, in a different ink and writing style and below the main body of text. At all times he gives good evidence for his hypotheses.

The striking difference in style can no doubt be explained by the time lapse between the two journeys, and the experience and maturity he gained in those three years spent travelling in the Near East, exploring, and constantly drawing and noting.

Giovanni Finati

With only two exceptions, there seems to be nothing either written or drawn by Finati, who accompanied Bankes and Linant as dragoman on their journeys. In 1815, Finati had picked up some enthusiasm for the 'vestiges of antiquity', and 'began to take some interest in the sight of them', but generally the tasks he was given are concerned with more mundane matters.⁶⁴ In his 'own' account there is no mention of drawing, although the archaeological investigations are briefly described. In the Sudan, he was more likely to be off with his gun shooting game for dinner while Linant worked on his drawings.

A sheet of 'Inscriptions from MESAOURET [Musawwarat] as copied by Monsr. Linant', gives those on the verso (Greek/Coptic? and Meroitic) as 'Copied by Mahomet', so he had apparently been required to do some copying there. Also, Salt's 1823 list of Linant's drawings of the 'western temple' at Semna in 1821-22 gives number 52 as: 'Mahomet's sketch of hierogl^s at D°.' The latter does not appear in the portfolio for Semna. (Although number 52 is that of the Musawwarat copies naming 'Mahomet', those are Greek/Coptic whereas the Semna ones are said to be hieroglyphs.)

⁶⁴ Finati 1830, 80.

How far the published narrative reflects his own work has always been in question. Finati, generally referred to by the name he took, 'Mahomet,' was actually an Italian, from Ferrara. According to Banks, the editor, Finati's autobiography was dictated in Italian because of 'his long disuse... of European writing'. Banks owns only to having translated and edited it, from 'twelve little copy-books', although it had 'the full benefit of a collation with my journals made on the spot'.⁶⁵ It is likely that Banks' input was more substantial than this, although placing his own comments separately as footnotes increases the impression that the rest of the text is by Finati. The first volume is a swashbuckling adventure story dealing exclusively with Finati's life before he met Banks. The second volume recounts his experiences as a dragoman, both before, with, and after Banks, in Egypt and the Near East. It can now be seen that there are many similarities of wording between the book and fragments of Banks' 1815 journal. Whether Finati dictated the material for the first volume or just provided the material, Banks must have been delighted by his subject's adventures which had more appeal than the usual type of travel journal. It also, of course, absolved Banks from having to produce the high quality work of scholarship about his travels which both the quality and abundance of collected material, the demands of his distinguished friends and colleagues, and his own fastidiousness, would have demanded.

Baron Sack

From Salt's remark that, 'All but the baron, who was chiefly engaged in killing frogs, snakes, beetles, and such like game, were enthusiastically fond of the arts, and really vied with each other who should produce the best sketches', it would seem that Sack was never part of their working party and did not contribute any drawings but was occupied with collecting his specimens.⁶⁶ The few botanical and zoological subjects are by Banks, Beechey, or Linant.

⁶⁵ Finati 1830, vol. I, xiii-xvii.

⁶⁶ Halls 1834, II, 134.

OWNERSHIP AND COPYRIGHT

Charles Barry, travelling with Mr Baillie who had engaged him to record the monuments on his behalf, noted in his diary for Wednesday 13 January 1819,⁶⁷ on meeting with Bankes and party on the Nile, 'Mr Salt showed me the whole of the sketches that have been made since leaving Philae. They were all in pencil and very numerous. They are the work of himself, Mr Beechey (whom he calls his Secretary) and a French artist named Linant. I looked over Mr Bankes' drawings, which, on account of their great number, he kept in a basket. They principally relate to detail such as hieroglyphs, ornaments etc. and are executed by himself and an Italian doctor in his employ [Ricci]. All the drawings made by Mr Salt and his employee, belong to Mr Bankes.'⁶⁸

This appears to show that Salt, Beechey, and Linant's work was kept separately from that of Bankes and Ricci, but that all the drawings apparently belonged to Bankes. We can now see that Bankes owned drawings by Linant, Ricci and Beechey, but none by Salt.

Salt says, referring to the entire party; 'As our objects were the same, to examine the antiquities and make sketches of them, nothing could agree better nor prove more agreeable.'⁶⁹ This general camaraderie of shared interest in their project did reflect a genuine friendship between himself and Bankes. Bankes' letters make it clear that both Linant and Ricci were employees with Bankes the owner of the work produced.

Questions of the ownership and copyright of drawings were considered important and were capable of stirring up antagonism and (certainly on Bankes' part) bitter recrimination. Ideally, there were practical advantages to joint ventures, but any resulting publication required the permission of the other party. These feelings were exacerbated in Bankes' case when he saw so many former companions return to England and publish, which he, from whom so much was expected, failed to do. Few of Bankes' erstwhile friends escape the denigrating comments reserved for those who did this; Irby and Mangle are an exception and they evidently took particular care when dealing with Bankes.

A Mr Legh, who with Irby and Mangles had been one of Bankes' travelling companions in the Near East in the spring of 1818,⁷⁰ was also to preempt Bankes in publishing his account of their journey, and as a result earned the disapprobation of Bankes and his friends. Mr Baillie sympathised: 'I heard when I was at Constantinople that Mr Legh had advertised his journey around the dead sea; it immediately occurred to me that as you had planned the journey, it was not quite consistent with good taste or that tacit understanding which ought to prevail among gentleman, to anticipate you with so much

⁶⁷ A date confirmed by Ricci's diary.

⁶⁸ C. Barry, *Mss diary of travels in the Drawings Collection*, RIBA, London, quoted in Clayton 1984, 45.

⁶⁹ Halls 1834, II, 122.

⁷⁰ Irby and Mangles 1823, 331.

haste... I knew nothing at that time about your exclusive property in the journal upon which of course depend[?]. ... reasons against such a publication... But surely in whatever light you may view such a transaction, Mr Legh's work can not possibly interfere with... valuable information of which I presume you to be the sole depository, or contain much more than a summary of names and adventures.'⁷¹

Baillie himself generously offered to put Barry's 'drawings, plans or architectural details' at Bankes' 'absolute disposal', while Irby and Mangles wrote, 'If you think our narrative of the opening of the Temple at Absambul would be of any use to your Publication on Nubia we shall be very happy to let you have it'.⁷²

To counter accusations of plagiarism great care was taken by Salt to protect himself in writing. A watercolour, for example, marked by Salt as 'Drawn by Mr Ricci', includes Salt's note, 'I send this copy here which was given me by Mr Bankes as a present for Lord Mountnorris but on the strict condition that it is not in any way published or even copied without Mr Bankes' permission.' Other drawings include the note, 'copied by...'.⁷³

An altercation with James Silk Buckingham over the authorship of drawings made in Syria and published by Buckingham as his own, led Bankes, who had publicly suggested that his own work had been plagiarised, to become embroiled in a libel suit over the matter. The whole story, from Buckingham's side, is minutely, and repetitively, dealt with in a lengthy and laboured appendix to his *Travels*.⁷⁴ The crux of the problem appears to rest on whether in aiding Bankes to make plans and in copying completed drawings he was doing so as a partner who would have the right to use the work in his own publication, or whether this had been expressly forbidden by Bankes. On the whole it seems likely from reading both accounts that neither had in fact made the matter as clear as they later insist, resulting in over-reaction on both sides. Bankes' fulminating and acid letter of 12 June 1819 to Bombay in which he attempts to have Buckingham's patronage cut short, admits his own 'foolishness'. According to a rough copy of a statement by Bankes,⁷⁵ his first meeting with Buckingham was at Jerusalem. The journey was planned and arranged by himself and 'Mr B begged to be permitted to accompany me, offering to be of any use to me in his power by taking down any notes or memoranda or ascertaining bearings for me. I consented to this specifying distinctly that there must be no publication on his part - to this of course there can be no witness...'

Finati, who was specifically brought to London by Bankes as a witness, a few months after his return with Linant from the Sudan in July 1822, together with Antonio da

⁷¹ HJ 1/125

⁷² HJ 1/130

⁷³ Bierbrier 1983.

⁷⁴ Buckingham 1825.

⁷⁵ HJ 1/97

Costa, obligingly noted that Buckingham 'was in our company, bearing, however, no part in it either with his purse or with his pencil'.⁷⁶ Despite this, Bankes was to lose the case.

The whole idea of collaboration was evidently fraught. A letter of 25 May 1816 from Buckingham to Burkhardt, a friend and valued advisor whom Bankes met in Cairo in 1815, says; 'Mr Bankes has pressed me into a union with himself under the idea that you would also contribute your share to a work on Nubia and Egypt and Syria...' and goes on to describe Bankes' drawings as 'numerous and accurate'. He, Buckingham, has a knowledge of the geographical details and Burkhardt knows the 'manners, peculiarities, &c'; however Buckingham expresses doubts about the scheme.

On the subject of a possible collaboration, apparently suggested by Bankes, Burkhardt was also reluctant, writing to him from Cairo, 15 July 1816, and adding several lines (erased in ink - by Bankes?) on his own feelings about a joint publication. Burkhardt excuses himself from the project on the grounds that the African Association, who sponsored his travels, considered his work as belonging to them.

Despite these pitfalls it was common for artists to keep copies of their own drawings, with or without permission. Drawings might be put out on the market for sale (as in the case of Ricci) or exchanged, as occurred between Linant and Cailliaud in the Sudan, where each needed a favour from the other. Ricci made several copies of the more spectacular of the watercolours for Bankes, including a schematic garden scene from a Theban tomb and the transport of the colossal statue from the tomb of Djehutyhotep at Deir el Bersha. There was undoubtedly interest in these simply as ornamental examples of Egyptian art since they are highly finished and the hieroglyphic text was excluded.

A highly finished drawing could be quite valuable. Barry gave Bankes 'a very fine finished drawing of the great temple of Karnak' in 1821 'which was made and coloured by him on the spot, & is both very clever & very exact. It is a drawing that I am very sure would not be sold for less than twenty or thirty guineas in a shop.'⁷⁷

Finati (in the irked tone which for once is clearly the voice of Bankes) reports: 'I remember that, during all our voyage, there was a German artist who followed us at about a day's distance all the way, and used to make the natives point out to him whatever our draughtsmen had copied, and so with little trouble got the benefit of all the labour and expense that had been bestowed, which some of us were so provoked at, that we were desirous of covering up the writings again, or defacing them, but Mr. Bankes would never permit it.'⁷⁸ This unnamed artist surely can be none other than Gau, the friend of Drovetti and therefore the rival of Salt. By publishing an accomplished record of Nubia in 1822, he also became a rival to Bankes.

⁷⁶ Finati 1830, 424-6, 152.

⁷⁷ Unnumbered HH letter from Bankes to his father, no date but postmark 1821.

⁷⁸ Finati 1830, 342.

BANKES' COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES

On 15 July 1816, Burkhardt wrote to Bankes, who had left Egypt for Syria, that he and Salt had finally arranged for the great head of 'Memnon' to be 'carried off' (a feat attempted unsuccessfully by Bankes) and presented to the British Museum. 'Do let this be a stimulus to Yourself, not to bury your treasures at Your country house, where they can never generally be admired'. He recommended that Bankes donate the 'tablets from Thebes' (Bankes termed stele 'tablets', so probably these were the Deir el Medineh stele) and other antiquities to the nation.⁷⁹ Burkhardt held out the lure of the honour which would accrue to such a gift, but the suggestion was ignored.

Given Bankes' views on the plunder of objects from Egypt for exhibition, we should perhaps not be surprised to find that his antiquities seem to represent a random assortment rather than a systematic, representative, haul. Nor did he add to it by purchases on his return, despite the opportunities offered by London sales. There are, nevertheless, some groups of objects such as the Deir el Medina stelae,⁸⁰ painted scenes on stucco fragments from a Theban tomb,⁸¹ and various papyri.⁸² Other objects of importance include the Philae obelisk,⁸³ and a large granite sarcophagus.⁸⁴ The collection is now displayed in the former billiard-room at Kingston Lacy, but a full catalogue has not yet been published.⁸⁵

Bankes' papers reveal some bills for shipping but these are rather vague as well as somewhat illegible. There are a few references to his antiquities, but virtually nothing about provenances, although the occasional examination or purchase of some object *en route* is noted in the journal material. At that period it seems likely that much of his collection was purchased from local dealers, probably in Thebes, or obtained from friends, rather than found during his own excavation work.

On 29 October 1816, two statues and three cases of antique stones were to be dispatched from Malta to England, and a remaining case was packed awaiting future shipment.⁸⁶ Although some of these items could be from Bankes' Syrian journey, the two statues might be the 'two lion-headed sitting figures, of black granite' from Karnak

⁷⁹ HJ 1/57. If these are the Deir el Medineh stelae, this would give an even earlier date for their removal than 1817-18 as suggested by James 1993-4, 27.

⁸⁰ See Černý 1958.

⁸¹ See Manniche 1987, 101.

⁸² See Quirke 1996. As Quirke points out, the inclusion of the Rammesside letters, unattractive, cursive, pictureless fragments, which we now know to be important documents for Pharaonic political history, is much to Bankes' credit.

⁸³ See Iversen 1972, 62.

⁸⁴ See Assmann 1991, 267ff. for the sarcophagus, 201ff. for the tomb's date. The sarcophagus and cover are described by Salt as 'discovered last year by Yanni at Thebes', in a letter of 6 January 1822 (HJ 1/169). The same letter contains the suggestion (made by Bankes apparently in a letter of 9 August) that Bankes would accept 'the two upright sphinxes [Sekhmet statues]...not perfect' against Salt's debt.

⁸⁵ See James 1993-4, 20-32, the main source for the information on Bankes' collection.

(Sekhmet statues from the Mut temple area) which Bankes removed after failing to remove the 'head of Memnon'.⁸⁷ These are not in the collection, and the large number of similar statues discovered and removed from this site makes it difficult to trace them.

Further items, including 'the obelisk, nine cases, and a pair of ['horns' or possibly 'lions'?], together with some antiquities belonging to Salt, were shipped from Alexandria around 8 May 1821, together with a box of drawings.⁸⁸ These are probably 'the beautiful drawings of Mr. Linant in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai and also his journal which considering the sufferings he went through in this expedition is well written' which Salt hoped that Bankes had received.⁸⁹ Particular care is being taken of the 'cases of pictures' which have been embarked on board in a dry place. The consignment also included the 'two ['Goats horns' or possibly 'Great lions'?] & the small pyramid-shaped case[?] left by you'.⁹⁰ Again, this might be a reference to the Sekhmet statues, or possibly 'horns' which Nathaniel Pearce left to Bankes in his will when he died, 12 August 1820.

By 22 September 1821 the Egyptian objects had arrived at Bankes' London house. Bankes reported that, meeting the Duke of Wellington at the theatre, 'the Duke insisted upon coming the next day - yesterday - to see my importations from Egypt, & brought an immense party with him, who seemed to be very much surprised & amused... It is amazing what an interest the Duke has taken in my obelisk, he has a great wish to take charge of it himself completely, & to carry it down all the way by land, in some of the artillery contrivances... I saw it yesterday morning [at Deptford docks]... The state of preservation of it is really wonderful, & I am still of opinion that there is no piece of Egyptian antiquity that can at all compete with it in this country... I believe that I never can content to remove so fine a monument out of sight of the House... Two of my Egyptian pictures [the Theban tomb paintings?] are now safe in their wainscott frames, the great one comes out surprisingly, & will I hope be also in its frame tomorrow'.⁹¹ At the docks he was also able to examine and admire the famous alabaster sarcophagus and other antiquities which had arrived in a frigate belonging to the Pasha. They were told the sarcophagus [of Seti I and now in the Sir John Soane Museum] was to be removed to the British Museum.

Exactly what, if any, arrangements were made to exhibit his Egyptian antiquities is not known; no part of the refurbishment of Kingston Lacy seems intended for a display of

⁸⁶ HJ 1/61

⁸⁷ Finati 1830, 96. They are perhaps the 'sphinxes found at Karnack' mentioned in Forbin 1819 a, 92: 'It is likewise notorious that Mr. Barlow, an American gentleman had procured the removal of two to Cairo, on account for Mr Bankes...'

⁸⁸ Letter from P. Lee, HJ 1/154. A post-script adds that 'I have also sent on board a tin box or case cont. Drawings sent down by Mr Salt.'

⁸⁹ Salt's letter of 10 October 1821, HJ 1/159

⁹⁰ Letter from Thurnburn, 9 May 1821, HJ 1/155.

⁹¹ Unnumbered HH letter from Bankes, Old Palace Yard, to his father, Kingston Hall. No date, but postmark 22 September 1821. The frames were probably wooden panel-work lining the walls of the room.

this kind. However we have two different rough sketch designs by Bankes, previously unidentified, for an Egyptianising frame for his Egyptian stucco paintings.⁹² It is not known if these were ever made and in following generations the collection was relegated to basement rooms and attics. It is unlikely that Bankes himself viewed his antiquities with the same aesthetic that informed his connoisseur's eye for Western European art and architecture.⁹³ The obelisk was an antiquity which encompassed both cultures through its incorporation into the art and architecture of ancient Rome. With an architect's care for proportion, Bankes had experimented with a thirty-eight foot fir trunk from his estate (four foot of which was to be buried in the ground) to judge the most effective distance to place the obelisk from the house. The Duke of Wellington ceremoniously laid the foundation stone in April 1827, but the obelisk was not finally placed on its pedestal at Kingston Lacy until the beginning of October 1830.⁹⁴

The sarcophagus of Amenemope, discovered by D'Athanasia in 1821, arrived as a gift from Salt, apparently unsolicited. Bankes' perhaps ambivalent attitude to his collection may be seen in his letter to Salt in 1823, 'Should you have no particular value yet for those pots and vessels of alabaster which I brought with me from Eileithya & left for you in your library, I should be very glad of them & of anything that may be forthcoming of that description as I find them susceptible of a polish & therefore ornamental as well as curious - could a set of pots be found for me in alabaster with the four heads of the Baboon, Woman, Jackal & Hawk [canopic jars] they would be particularly acceptable'.⁹⁵

While the obelisk undoubtedly constituted an unusual and grand addition to the garden statuary, and the social cachet of securing such a magnificent ornament to his house must have been irresistible, its main attraction for Bankes was undoubtedly its text. The hieroglyphic inscription, if a true copy of the Greek inscription on its pedestal, was potentially a key to decipherment, like the Rosetta Stone. When Salt was trying to overcome the difficulties of sending back the obelisk's broken companion, Bankes wrote that he would settle for a copy of its inscriptions, as this was his main interest in it.

⁹² Found in the box of assorted 'Egypt' papers at Dorset County Archive. For the painting of musicians here shown 'framed', see Davies 1958, 12, pl. 5.

⁹³ For the criteria of eighteenth-century collectors of Egyptian objects, see Quirke 1997.

⁹⁴ Letter to John Murray from Bankes, 9 October 1830, John Murray archives, Albermarle St, London.

⁹⁵ HJ 1/227.

HISTORY, INSCRIPTIONS, AND DECIPHERMENT

‘...a study which is neglected by all but a few travellers who have been in the country where it has given a second life to the monuments...’ Lord Prudhoe.⁹⁶

Although many of his notes refer to architecture, it was principally inscriptions and reliefs of a historical nature that excited Banks. According to Finati, ‘nothing that he found seemed to give him more pleasure, or to excite more interest, than the wall of a building which he brought to light in digging for several days at El Araba Medfoun [Abydos].’ Banks recognised this Abydos king-list as a find of major historical importance, bearing in chronological order the cartouches containing the names of the pharaohs. Banks did not attempt its removal, ‘but took a complete copy of all the sculpture upon it.’ Champollion’s request to use this copy was forwarded to Banks by Young, 9 January 1823, with the remark, ‘I think I can answer for his observing any restrictions respecting the use to be made of it that you may think it right to impose... He says he has made out thirty names of the Pharaohs’.⁹⁷

Banks’ copy of the Abydos king-list, with his brief account of it, appears as the frontispiece to Salt’s *Essay on Dr. Young’s and M. Champollion’s Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics*, to which Banks also contributed copious footnote information. Salt’s book provided a platform for yet another of Banks’ bitter attacks on those who, in publishing, had failed to acknowledge his own contributions. While Champollion admitted that his work on the hieroglyphic alphabet was founded on the alphabetic letters in the names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Banks’ decipherment of ‘Cleopatra’ was ignored. In reality, the existence or extent of any debt to either Young or Banks was soon outstripped by the genius of Champollion’s own researches, which were based on his thorough understanding of Coptic in which many ancient Egyptian words were preserved. Champollion was able to draw up a classified list of Egyptian hieroglyphs and formulated a system of grammar and general decipherment which underlies all subsequent scholarship.⁹⁸ Salt admonishes Champollion for not informing us of the sources of his information (although it is possible that Young and Champollion drew their conclusions independently). ‘The first discovery of the name Cleopatra is due to Mr W.J. Banks, in 1818.’⁹⁹ The steps to Banks’ discovery are related in detail by Salt as follows: Banks was the first to recognise that the repeated figures offering to the gods were portraits of the founders of temples, or the occupants of tombs, rather than priests or mythological figures. ‘Mr. Banks next observed that, as the Greek inscription upon the propylaeum at

⁹⁶ Letter of 1830, HJ 1/360

⁹⁷ HJ 1/195

⁹⁸ Budge 1951, 3.

⁹⁹ Salt 1825, 7ff.

Diospolis Parva [two Graeco-Roman temples at Hiw] furnishes the only example extant in all Egypt of the name of a queen Cleopatra preceding (instead of following) that of a king Ptolemy... the sculpture on the same building furnish the only example, where the female figure, offering, takes a precedence over that of the man: these... must be intended for Cleopatra and Ptolemy.' Bankes found Young's hieroglyphic name for Ptolemy did indeed match that over the male figure. Next, Bankes examined the cartouche names on his own obelisk, known to be a 'memorial of a Ptolemy and his two Cleopatras', discovering the same two names. 'the result was accordingly communicated by Mr. B. both to Mr. Salt and to Dr. Young, and noted by him also in pencil in the margin of many copies, which he afterwards distributed, of the lithographic print of his obelisk;¹⁰⁰ it was so noted, amongst others, in the margin of that sent to Paris to be presented to the French Institute by Mons. Denon.' Salt adds that it would have been impossible, as Champollion claimed, for a simple collation of the hieroglyphic obelisk text and the Greek pedestal text alone to have led Champollion to this conclusion, since the name occurs twice in the Greek but only once in the hieroglyphs.¹⁰¹

A few days before his planned departure for Nubia in 1818, Bankes had received a letter from Young, forwarded by his father, containing a number of instructions.¹⁰² The 'great desideratum of all' was to discover the missing hieroglyphic fragments of the Rosetta Stone, 'which to an Egyptian Antiquary would be worth their weight in diamonds'. With this, the number of known hieroglyphics, 'above fifty' could be 'more than doubled'. Salt had been empowered by the British Government to dig 'in the neighbourhood of Fort St. Julien, or otherwise... but there is reason to fear that it has wholly escaped his memory'. This was not so, as Salt declared to Hamilton. 'I took great pains, and went to some expense, in searching for them; but found nothing of the kind, neither at the house of the Institute, Fort Julian, nor in the neighbourhood of Tirané, where there was said to be a stone with mixed characters on it.'¹⁰³ Salt himself was as interested in matters of decipherment as was Bankes, and in the same letter asks to become a subscriber to 'your new society for the hieroglyphics'.¹⁰⁴ Young's second request is for Bankes to bring back to England the duplicate of the Rosetta Stone seen by Dr Clarke in the building occupied by the Institute at Cairo, in case it contains any additional information.

¹⁰⁰ Bankes 1821.

¹⁰¹ Unnumbered HH letter from Bankes to his father, postmarked 22 September 1821, states that 'the oval containing what Dr Young declares to be the name of Ptolemy is that which occurs on the obelisk, & that which I myself found elsewhere to signify Cleopatra is immediately below, which seems to leave no doubt at all that it has a direct connection with the Greek inscription on the Pedestal.'

¹⁰² Bankes' letter to his father HH, and Young's letter affixed to Bankes Album, II, 3.

¹⁰³ Letter to Hamilton, 4 May 1819. Halls 1834, II, 119.

¹⁰⁴ By 1817, there were fifty members of Young's Egyptian Society 'for getting all the hieroglyphic inscriptions in existence copied and published.' Wood 1954, 224-5.

Since there are simply too many inscriptions for Bankes to copy them all, Young advises him to concentrate on the names of kings and gods, and he explains (correctly) how these can generally be distinguished. Lastly, Young adds that inscriptions almost universally relate to the figures over or before which they are placed, and they are always read from the front to the rear of the figures, although in either direction ‘almost indifferently’. Included is a list of groups of hieroglyphs for names etc. with their meanings.

Bankes at this time had mixed feelings about the value of the hieroglyphic texts.¹⁰⁵ He expresses surprise that everyone seemed to agree that all hieroglyphic writing was religious since the Rosetta stone was ‘a record of facts’, and several Classical writers were also of the opinion that the script was not just used for religious writing. What mainly worried him was that ‘the great repetition observable in the characters’ might mean that there was not much variety in the matter to which they related. Hieroglyphs were ‘little worth the pains’ if they were only used for ‘hymns & homilies’ rather than ‘History & Chronology.’ It was claimed that some Dendera inscriptions represented the Psalms of David; ‘We had the Psalms of David before, & without any disrespect to them, I had rather that he had found the annals of Sesostris’. Here Bankes echoes Young’s views that ‘All the inscriptions on temples, and the generality of the manuscripts found with the mummies, appear to relate to their ridiculous rites and ceremonies: I see nothing that looks like history: the obelisks seem to be the only kind of monument likely to be worth reading, even if one could make out the characters, and there are too few to afford us much of importance.’¹⁰⁶

After his return to England, Bankes corresponded with Young, mainly about various Greek inscriptions which he had found on his travels. In one case Young responded to Bankes’ queries about his copies of Lycian inscriptions, ‘but at present, I see little encouragement to return to the charge in comparison at least with the temptation that your hieroglyphical tablet [the Abydos king-list] holds out: I wish you would have it engraved and publish it with a few other select materials as pledges of your future intentions.’ In London, Young was given access to Bankes’ drawings for study and writes jokingly from Welbeck Street, ‘I hope on Saturday or Sunday to make another attempt to break into the temple at Ebsambal [Abu Simbel]. Pray tell me if I shall find it accessible about 3 oclock.’¹⁰⁷

Unlike Salt, who published his own theories, Bankes does not appear to have devoted a great deal of time or attention to hieroglyphs, beyond his discovery of the name of Cleopatra on his obelisk. However, his accurate copies of cartouches, together with his eye for differences in style and a constant search for parallels, enabled him to distinguish

¹⁰⁵ HH, as note 203.

¹⁰⁶ Letter to Hudson Gurney, early 1816. Wood 1954, 215.

¹⁰⁷ HJ 1/120.

the work of the New Kingdom, and in particular that of Ramesses II, from that of later periods. There are no unpublished papers wrestling with the problems of decipherment, or letters discussing them. Bankes was on firmer ground with the Greek inscriptions, a prodigious number of which he recorded, and he undoubtedly hoped to make any discoveries through these.

Salt's letter to William Hamilton, from Cairo, 1st July 1819,¹⁰⁸ reiterates the importance of the Greek inscriptions in dating the monuments. Bankes, he reports, now returned to Cairo, had re-examined every ruin on his way down, and added to their discoveries by finding three new chambers at Philae. An inscription of the time of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, on an altar built into the wall of the long colonnade next to the water at Philae proved 'the whole building posterior to that reign.' Under the painting and plaster but over the sculpture of the temple are inscriptions of Ptolemy Philopater and one 'bearing date under the Caesars' showing the earliest dating for the paintings, 'while on the wings, or side-moles of the same propylon, we have secured proofs that the sculpture was done after the time of Tiberius; and, if Dr Young be right about the names, the granite tablet in the court, which has a small temple built over it, is not later than the Ptolemies.'

'Mr. Bankes has also found, on the little temple near Esné, proofs that the sculpture and hieroglyphics were executed in the reign of Antonine, and that they were dedicated by persons with Greek names. Every new discovery, in fact, confirms your first supposition of the value of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, and shows plainly that the greater part of the temples now standing are of late date. We have still the gratification of knowing that this derogates nothing from the great merit of the Egyptian artists, since the most ancient buildings which remain are undoubtedly superior in every point of view. Our inscription at Ipsambul, in the reign of Psammeticus, now becomes invaluable, giving us a most exact standard of the more ancient style.'

One of Bankes principal areas of research was his attempt to equate the ruins he found on the ground with the Latin names of towns and temples in the Antonine Itinerary of the Roman administration.¹⁰⁹ Letters to Salt and other notes show the importance of this aspect of identification to his contemporaries. The Greek and Roman sources then represented the only historical information available on ancient Egypt.

¹⁰⁸ Halls 1834, II, 139.

¹⁰⁹ Itineraries dealing with land-routes and giving distances along roads were common in the Roman Empire but few have survived. The chief of those known is the *Itinerarium Antoninianum*, which may be a third-century collection of routes used for troop movements (Hammond and Scullard 1970, 558). This is presumably the document which Bankes is constantly referring to.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERY

In the early nineteenth century, methods of excavation were obviously unlike modern archaeological work with its emphasis on recording different strata and the contexts of finds, yet it would be wrong to consider that Bankes and his colleagues only cleared away sand in order to enter and record the interiors of monuments. With a critical eye and an inquiring mind, Bankes himself was anxious to uncover the entire layout of any structure and quick to spot which parts had been built at different times. He noted where new sections of walls met or crossed old ones, and where architecture cut through decoration and *vice versa*. At Abu Simbel the clearance was both to determine for the first time the nature of the statues on the facade of the Great Temple, and in search of inscriptions which might date it. In his mind he held a Classical template by comparison with which he attempted to characterise, by their groundplans and architecture, the stylistic similarities and differences between Greek and Roman, and ancient Egyptian structures. He was very aware of the importance of determining the quality of the decoration and stylistic differences in the reliefs, and the relationship of these factors to the dating of the monuments. Eventually he began to distinguish Pharaonic structures from later Graeco-Roman ones, and the Egyptian forms which he noted and remembered built up a further template for his comparisons. He sought to determine the function of the building if this was not clear, and to discover what changes might have been due to its conversion to Christian use. He commented on the materials used and looked for their sources. He checked for evidence indicating the reasons for the fall or destruction of the monuments. Known to be constantly searching for any buried sites, statues or other objects, he was a constant prey to local 'tip-offs' which frequently proved fruitless.

The search for quantities of objects and their removal was not a priority. His wealth meant that he had no interest in obtaining items to sell for profit, but neither did he follow Burkhardt's advice and donate the objects which he did collect to the British Museum.

By 1821-22, Linant was equally thorough in his archaeological researches. The results of this can be seen in the extracts from his journal given in the Introductions to the sites he visited.

BANKES' EARLY TRAVELS

Bankes was independent financially even before he inherited Kingston Lacy and its estates on his father's death in 1834. He was also trusted by his father to use his own taste and judgment to spend large sums on the purchase of paintings abroad, and was already taking an active part in the embellishment of the family house and grounds. No detail is too small for Bankes' attention and instructions. (A letter of 1821 to his father includes a reminder to his mother to shift the cedars into larger pots if they are not to be planted that year).

His great-uncle, benefactor, and early mentor, Sir William Wynne, encouraged Bankes to travel, and a Grand Tour was both a family tradition and well suited Bankes' genuine inclinations to the arts of painting and architecture. A tour in Italy, however, which Bankes visited after his voyage in the Near East and where he was eventually to spend the last years of his life, was still impossible because of the Napoleonic Wars. Spain and Portugal, having been reconquered by Wellington, could meanwhile be visited.

With an extensive income at his disposal, and as great a taste for travel and adventure as for art and architecture, Bankes was able to begin serious collecting in 1812 at the age of twenty-six when he began the travels which were to take him from Spain and Portugal to the Near East. At this time, while not apparently keeping a regular journal, he recorded subjects of interest to him, making drawings, watercolours, and often lengthy notes of his journey. There is already a particular emphasis on the architecture, and he drew both general views and individual details. While an interest in the Moorish architecture of the Alhambra at Granada was a frequent starting point for a Near Eastern tour in the nineteenth century,¹¹⁰ Bankes also clearly enjoyed a certain frisson or even *nostalgie de la boue* in choosing a lifestyle among the gypsies at their encampment at Granada. Arabella Millbanke reports hearing that 'he is living there in a beggarly, eccentric fashion.'¹¹¹

Bankes had earlier visited Wellington's headquarters in an unofficial capacity after the battle of Salamanca in July 1812. He apparently used it as a base for collecting the fine Spanish paintings which were sent back to Kingston Lacy; the circumstances of the time being no doubt propitious for the easy acquisition of such valuable objects, on terms that must have appealed to a man with a reputation for being, at best, careful with his fortune. The story is that when Wellington instructed his troops to refrain from looting, he added; 'and remember, Bankes, this applies to you also'.¹¹² Bankes was to create an entire Spanish dining room at Kingston Lacy, with gilded leather wall-coverings and furnished with Spanish paintings including works by Velasquez and Murillo. Although inexperienced, he was one of the first Englishmen to show an interest in Spanish

¹¹⁰ Searight 1980.

¹¹¹ Bankes 1986, 138.

¹¹² Bankes 1986, 139.

paintings, and acquired one masterpiece which had formerly been in Charles I's collection.¹¹³

The Spanish and Portuguese papers present the same problems which confront us with the Egyptian and Nubian ones. They are neither signed nor dated, and can only be attributed to Banks on the grounds of style and by the identification of his hand in titles and notes. It does appear however that they are all his own work and that no other artists were employed by him at this time to contribute to his record. Sir Brinsley Ford was asked to comment on the likely attribution of these papers informally to the National Trust.¹¹⁴ He concluded that the architectural draughtsmanship was sufficiently skilled to suggest a trained hand, in addition to a good eye. However, the watercolours, which are clumsy and sombre, with heavy strokes of paint, appeared to Ford to be so inferior as to suggest another hand, or else very uneven work. The latter seems to be the case as watercolours in a similar style are present in the Egyptian portfolio. As is also the case for Egypt and Nubia, the separate pieces of paper used in Spain are of many different sizes and types and clearly do not belong to a single sketch-book.

After a comparison with the Egyptian papers, there is now no reason to doubt that the work is by Banks. They are in his style, he was in Spain and Portugal at this time, and the watermarks of 1806 and 1810 found on some of the papers would fit this period, as paper taken abroad by travellers might have been kept for several years.

If Banks was a skilled draughtsman and familiar with the terms and techniques of architecture, it was perhaps more of an acceptable skill for a gentleman interested in architecture by the early nineteenth century than it had been for Lord Burlington, who had been criticised a century earlier for his using his skills to become virtually a professional rather than remaining just an accomplished dilettante. There is no evidence that Banks had any formal architectural training. On this subject, Gau repeated Huyot's jest ('plaisanterie') about himself and Banks in a letter written to Drovetti. Huyot, also an architect, who travelled with Banks for a time in 1819, had said that Banks did architecture in the same way that Gau copied inscriptions ('Mr Banks fait de l'architecture, comme Mr. Gau copie les inscription [sic]').¹¹⁵ Perhaps we should take this as light sarcasm implying that Banks really did not understand architecture, since Gau was a professional architect who provided his own excellent architectural drawings for the plates to his book, but who needed to consign to someone else the task of writing the commentary for the inscriptions he had copied. No doubt Banks' architectural pretensions are well known by the date of this letter of 1820, and perhaps his knowledge and interest was derided amongst the professionals. Banks probably began his main architectural activities in 1820 on his return

¹¹³ Mitchell 1994, 24.

¹¹⁴ I am grateful to Sir Brinsley Ford who kindly also discussed the matter informally with me.

¹¹⁵ Curto and Donatelli 1985, 165, Letter 130.

from Egypt by remodelling Soughton Hall, Flintshire, which he had inherited from his great-uncle Sir William Wynne.

BANKES' FIRST JOURNEY IN EGYPT AND NUBIA

Bankes himself was writing up notes on his travels constantly, but never consistently. Although most of his movements can be followed in the narrative of Finati 1830, we must rely on a combination of separate fragments of journal and description, his Album descriptions, his correspondence, and the writings of his contemporaries, for a complete account of his travels and his impressions.

We have no exact date for Bankes' arrival in Egypt but on 7 August 1815 he obtained a safe passage from the then British Consul at Alexandria, Colonel Misset (Salt did not arrive to take over his post until the following year) for his journey into Upper Egypt.¹¹⁶

Armed with their letters of introduction, travellers looked for lodging, social life, and travel advice to the Consuls at Alexandria and Cairo. They might also have consulted other travellers earlier at Rome or Constantinople. The duties of the Consuls General were 'far from arduous'; the political issues were 'hardly of major importance' and 'few foreigners resided permanently in Cairo'. This left plenty of time for antiquarian interests and the collection of ancient Egyptian objects, so advice on these matters was not hard to come by.¹¹⁷

James Silk Buckingham¹¹⁸ is a good witness to the social role of the Consuls in the 'round of pleasure' at Alexandria in 1813. He was received by Peter Lee the British Consul, and other guests included a wealthy European merchant and a traveller from Rome. '...each consul, as [sic] matter of duty, kept open house for an evening reception once in the week; and on Sunday evenings the parties were still more numerous.' There were receptions, concerts and dances, and there were always rooms or balconies for conversation for those who did not wish to dance. During the day Mr Lee took him around the sites of interest. At Cairo, Buckingham spent his first night in the house of the Armenian vice-consul, and next day presented his letters of introduction from Smyrna and Alexandria. He was given apartments in the Residency 'containing every domestic convenience, indeed luxury' since Colonel Missett, although extremely disabled,¹¹⁹ was a '*bon-vivant*'. 'Nothing could surpass the pleasure of our lives'. There were sumptuous breakfasts, gourmet dinners, and morning rides on Arab steeds to different parts of the city.

Twenty-five bound pages of manuscript 'travelogue' written by Bankes, describe his own arrival in Egypt at Alexandria.¹²⁰ It is a fascinating record of his impressions and activities, made with all the freshness and enthusiasm of a first visit to 'the East' and in

¹¹⁶ HJ 1/34.

¹¹⁷ Fagan 1975, 89.

¹¹⁸ Buckingham 1855, 130-158.

¹¹⁹ According to Buckingham, Missett's arms and legs were paralysed. Buckingham 1855, 152.

strong contrast to the restrained tone of scientific inquiry he uses in the descriptions of his second voyage in the Bankes Albums. He speaks of being carried all over 'the field of battle',¹²¹ of Pompey's Pillar, the Catacombs, the beginning of Ramadan; all the typical things that would excite a traveller on first arrival. He had 'a very good Egyptian bronze presented to me'. It was a seated figure 'with roll'; perhaps a small amulet. He travelled to Rosetta and from there up the Nile to Cairo, where he first had 'the Pyramids in sight but not Cairo'. Coming ashore at Boulac he describes the architecture of Cairo. He was presented to the Pasha, Mohamet Ali, who sent a finely decked horse to fetch him. There are descriptions of a mosque, a Turkish bath, and his meeting with Burkhardt. 'I was very lucky in meeting with a Swiss gentleman in Cairo (who had part of his education at Cambridge) who travels for the African Society under the name of the Sheek Ibrahim... he is made on purpose for a traveller, full of energy and enterprize with a great exactness of memory, perfect master of Arabic & of all the customs of the people of the East; rather a man of general knowledge than a learned man, but observing & retaining everything. He is one of the few people I should have liked to travel with had our route lain the same way. I expect that he will do great things in the interior of Africa, he already knows Syria & Palestine & great part of Yemen better than anybody & has given me invaluable information & advice as to my route... It is chiefly his persuasion that has induced me to resolve on going beyond the first Cataracts.... Mr Barthow, whom I have engaged to be my guide & interpreter as I proceed up the Nile has made the same voyage twice with other travellers as far as the Cataract & once into Nubia as far as Ibrim.' Burkhardt advised him to adopt Oriental dress and made out a list of places that Bankes should see on the Nile journey, beginning at Philae and going up to Wadi Omki, just beyond Wadi Halfa. It is written in separate columns for the left and right banks of the Nile.¹²²

In beginning this rough account of his travels, which continues with part of the first journey into Nubia, he leaves the date of his arrival blank, only noting it as 'August'.

He had reached Cairo by 16 August 1815 for on this day William Turner, who had just arrived back after a fatiguing visit to Sinai, records meeting him there and also receiving the latest news from Europe.¹²³ At 'the house where Mr. Lee¹²⁴ was' Turner found Mr. Bogos ('the Pasha's secretary')¹²⁵ 'and Mr. Bankes, who was just arrived, and preparing for the journey from which I was now returned. After learning the details of the

¹²⁰ Unnumbered in Dorset County Archive, D/BKL box, 'Egypt etc'.

¹²¹ No doubt he is referring to the battlefield of the defeat of the Napoleonic forces on 21 March 1801. See Clayton 1984, 25.

¹²² See catalogue: Material relating to Nubia and the Sudan.

¹²³ Turner 1820, 484-91. Belzoni 1822, II, 33, also mentions that Bankes 'arrived in this country and proceeded almost immediately to Sinai...'

¹²⁴ Peter Lee, British Consul at Alexandria and a member of the firm headed by Samuel Briggs, British merchant and banker of Alexandria.

¹²⁵ Turner 1820, 325.

victory of Waterloo, I returned to the convent, unpacked, and went immediately to the bath.'

Turner adds in a footnote: 'since this time Mr. Bankes has twice visited Upper Egypt, where he penetrated higher than any of his predecessors; has travelled all over Syria, including the East Coast of the Dead Sea, which no one else, except Sheikh Ibrahim [Burkhardt], had seen, and to Palmyra. His publication will teach us more respecting the East than that of any traveller who has yet described it; for he goes everywhere, fearing neither danger nor fatigue, collecting more information than any other man could obtain, and never forgetting what he collects. I freely own my own anxiety, that my humble journal, if printed at all, should appear before his return, for I should not expect any one would read it after the publication of his.'

The following day, 17 August 1815, Turner 'dined with Mr. Cocchini [the 'British Cancelliere'],¹²⁶ at whose table I met Mr. Bankes... In the evening I made a donkey excursion with Mr. Bankes, who is quite of my opinion as to the folly of guiding one's self by information obtained from the Franks;¹²⁷ the traveller who did so, would never move from his room.' These were uncertain times in Cairo but despite the warnings not to venture outside the Frank quarter because of the danger 'of being insulted, if not fired at, by the troops' they 'sallied forth' into the streets. There were armed soldiers about but no incidents occurred. Fruit stalls remained open but the bazaars were all shut and the streets deserted. 'We rode to the tombs of the Caliphs and Beys, which are south-east of the city.' They would have liked to investigate the caves in the 'burying-ground' but found 'the rock was almost perpendicular, and we saw no means of getting up'. They returned to the convent through empty streets. 'On our arriving at the convent, Mr. Aziz ['the English dragoman']¹²⁸ called on us at the convent with the news of Buonaparte's surrender to one of our ships of war.' At the same time they received the news that the Ottoman Empire had confirmed Mohamet Ali in his ruling position as Pasha of Egypt.

Bankes set off for Suez and Sinai the following day, 18 August 1815, according to Turner. We have no account by Bankes of his journey there but some idea of the travel arrangements can perhaps be had from a glance at the expenses which Turner had just incurred on his own journey.¹²⁹ Turner reckoned the journey to be a 25-day trip.¹³⁰ The biggest amount of expenditure was 45 piastres for the 'Present at Convent of Sinai', payment for their lodgings. The hire of camels and donkeys for the journey is the next largest item, with additional costs for drivers and porters. The provisions included meat and 'birds', two geese, vegetables, coffee, sugar, lemons, tamarinds, butter, biscuit, eggs, watermelons, cheese and milk. Rice, coffee, honey, flour, and butter for 'the Arabs' are

¹²⁶ Turner 1820, 364.

¹²⁷ The term used for Europeans.

¹²⁸ Turner 1820, 357.

¹²⁹ Turner 1820, 607.

listed separately. A kid, at 5 piastres is noted as '(very dear)', and there is an item for 'Bagshish to Arab for catching Lizard at foot of Sinai'.

Turner also provides us with some information on Bankes' activities at St Catherine's Monastery, the so-called 'Convent' at Sinai.¹³¹ Turner, on inquiring 'after manuscripts and a library', was told by the priests that they possessed 'only three bibles'. He took their word for this as 'Pococke states that they had no rare manuscripts. But Mr. Bankes, by persevering and rummaging, found out a library of 2,000 volumes, of which three-quarters were MSS, and of these, nine-tenths were Greek... Mr. Bankes brought away, 1- a thick M.S., containing Hephaestis on the Greek Metres, an Oration of Isocrates, the Letters of Phalaris, (which were the subject of much controversy some years ago); 2d., Another containing the three first Books of the Iliad, and part of the fourth; two Tragedies of Aeschylus, and much Greek poetry; 3d., Another thin one, containing the Medea of Euripides, and the beginning of his Hyppolitus; 4th., An historical Work of Cedrenus (a Byzantine historian, quoted in Gibbon); 5th., A very fair one, containing, it appears, all the Physics of Aristotle, probably of no remote antiquity, as it is written with contractions, which were not used in the early ages'.

An inscription in a 1503 copy of Euripides in the library at Kingston Lacy is annotated on the flyleaf as having been 'Brought from the convent of St Catherine upon Mount Sinai in August 1815 by Wm. John Bankes'.

The journey to Sinai took place while he was waiting for his hired boat to be equipped for the first Nubian journey, and he made 'the fatiguing journey from Cairo to Mount Sinai and back again' accompanied by an Alexandrian Arab interpreter, Haleel, whom he had engaged on landing in Egypt.¹³²

There are a group of drawings in the portfolio from Sinai, views and copies of various inscriptions, but these were made by Linant and Ricci in 1820.¹³³ Bankes may have been examining inscriptions at this time because Turner comments on Bankes' opinion of some inscriptions 'in the mountains of El Chuttel' near the Red Sea. However the only drawing made by Bankes in Sinai appears to be XX. D. 18, a view of St Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, the focus for all travellers in Sinai.

Bankes can only have spent two weeks on the Sinai excursion since he left on 18 August and was back in Cairo by 3 September, writing to his father that there will be no letters for the next two months as he is about to set off for Nubia. He speaks of difficulties in getting supplies of money; the methods are inconvenient and expensive and he asks his father to make arrangements with London bankers. Bankes jokes that he is 'obliged to

¹³⁰ Turner 1820, 393.

¹³¹ Turner 1820, footnote, 443-4.

¹³² Finati 1830, 73-4.

¹³³ The drawings from Serabit are not by Bankes as suggested in James 1997, 69-70.

travel with a vast apparatus 'en grand seigneur'. He has his brigades, like the French army, in case, 'I choose to remove a Pyramid or the statue of Memnon'.¹³⁴

The party that left Cairo by boat on 16 September 1815 consisted of Bankes; François Barthow, a French subject born in St Domingo, engaged by Bankes as his main guide and interpreter; Finati, engaged separately by Barthow, who was to remain in Bankes' service as a dragoman, acting as a general factotum, interpreter and guide; Antonio D'Acosta, 'a Portuguese who had followed him through most of his travels', and his Alexandrian interpreter, 'Haleel'.¹³⁵ All four can be considered as Bankes' servants and were employed for practical purposes rather than as artists or draughtsmen. (Finati himself tells us that he had been engaged by Barthow rather than by Bankes.)¹³⁶

Four previously lost pages of rough, but amended, travel journal describe the beginning of this journey.¹³⁷ 'I hired a large Mash [a type of boat] at 600 piastres per month... two masts... & 2 small cabins... & went on board on the 15th August [this was actually 15 September]¹³⁸ at night...' The 'Island of Roda' and the scenery were 'as delightful as at first sight' and there were 'Many water-fowl and pelicans.' Unfortunately their mast broke that evening and had to be repaired at a village in front of the pyramid of Meidum. He saw indigo growing, Christian houses, watched music and dancing on an adjacent boat, gave dinner to some helpful villagers but lost a dish as a result, and they sailed on by moonlight. He 'landed at Beni Souef & went through the Bazar'. The boat became stuck on a mudbank, and he noted the sailors' acts to avert the evil eye. He describes the architecture and decoration of the 'grottoes' [rock-cut tombs] of Beni Hassan in much detail, being surprised that Hamilton's *Aegiaptica*¹³⁹ had failed to notice what seemed to him their most remarkable aspect; their resemblance to early Greek architecture. This section of his journal ends at Antinoe.

Another fragmentary three pages of the same journal, from Aswan to Ibrim, has now also been discovered, and from this it can be seen that it is Bankes' own impressions which form the basis for Bankes' journey in Finati's *Narrative*, and he is not, as he states, simply translating and editing Finati's words.¹⁴⁰ Among other things he notes: 'A ship of baby black slaves at Assouan... a present of live locusts tied by their legs on a palm branch shredded into filaments [almost word for word with Finati 1830, 77] - great swarm of locusts passing over glittering like a snow [cf. Finati 1830, 75] - almost all the men at Assouan carry long stout poles as well as other arms... Apple of Sodom - the woody

¹³⁴ HH.

¹³⁵ Finati 1830, 73.

¹³⁶ Finati 1830, 72.

¹³⁷ Dorset County Archive D/BKL box, 'Egypt etc.' (unnumbered).

¹³⁸ 'August' must be an error since his own footnotes to Finati 1830 give their departure date as 16 September 1815 and their return as 16 December 1815, and we also have a letter of Bankes' written from Cairo on 3 September 1815 before his departure for Nubia.

¹³⁹ Bankes also travelled with a copy of Denon 1803 with him at this time (see Dakka, VIII. C. 25)

¹⁴⁰ For this journal fragment, see catalogue: Material relating to Nubia and the Sudan.

substance within good for timber, & the stalk which is milky, is burned in some places with charcoal for gunpowder’.

He records Philae’s beauty, its architecture, the ‘inscription on obelisk’, the ‘man naked with a short crooked knife in a sheath buckled in the L arm - one menaces me’ (almost word for word with Finati 1830, 87). He notes the river landscape, the cultivation, and the ‘Beautiful ruin on the other island [Biga]’.

At ‘Debode temple - women bring in a coarse cake - sour milk with onion - village in the desert... Moonlight, pass Gartassy, columns... a Boy’s back burned just below the shoulder with a red hot iron as a strengthener to the lungs & preventative against headache & loss of appetite... Kalabshe - violent storm of thunder & lightning & rain during the night. Calm, heat, crocodiles - Fish leaps on board...’ He describes the local people who ‘understand Arabic but their own language is totally different’. Bankes found himself mistaken for the tax collector. ‘At Kalapshe they spoke of a considerable treasure that had been found there not long ago but laid hands on by one of the Beys [one of many such buried-treasure stories he was to hear]. Dendura looks well from the river... Coban - could it not have been a Roman walled camp of Tiberius’s time? it is square & the wall from 20 to 26ft. high & very thick - a row of columns towards the river - here the natives suppose is a treasure concealed - .’

‘At Dekké’ he describes a Nubian and comments on the temple. ‘Eat a crane with dark plumage - like hare - Eat locusts roasted, pulling off the wings - I used to observe the roasted wings lying very thick sometimes on the ground - a sign such repasts were very common with the natives - the flavour is like a shrimp...’ [cf. Finati 1830, 78, ‘in our walks along the riverside we found the wings scattered in a manner that gave proofs of its furnishing no very uncommon repast.’] He notes ‘Wild ducks & partridges ... crocodiles ... Derr. - the houses... no Bazar.’ He notes that Derr had only been the capital since the destruction of Ibrim by the Mameluks four years earlier.¹⁴¹ ‘He [one of the ‘Cashiefs’] received me [cf. Finati 1830, 78] sitting on a raised platform near the mosque upon a carpet - I was served to coffee & dates with bread - he afterwards made me a present of a sheep & some fowls - I presented him with some soap & candles - he pays a sort of tribute to the Pasha of Egypt.’ Bankes adds that at Dongola the horses cost the equivalent of eight slaves; a slave being worth 300 or 500 piastres, ‘a prodigious sum’.

Except for the effects of the light ‘The grotto of Derr is not beautiful... Above Derr is an old Xtian convent.’ He found grain plentiful although he had been warned that it might be scarce. Soaked and baked it was ‘palatable’, sour milk is refreshing, and at Derr brandy is distilled from the dates, but a doctor has warned him that it caused ‘dropsies’. ‘The first view of the situation of Ibrim on approaching it is very grand.’

¹⁴¹ This date confirms that he is writing this journal in 1815, since this event he mentions as four years earlier took place in 1811.

The published account, which Bankes wishes us to regard as Finati's version rather than his own, gives us the rewritten description of the same journey.¹⁴² Travellers on the Nile invariably began in the north and sailed up river, taking advantage of any north winds and only stopping when these were absent. Without the requisite north wind the boat would need to be rowed or else towed by numbers of local men along the river-bank pulling ropes. Returning downstream they could rely on the current so were able to plan their stops, and accordingly most investigation and recording was done then. (Bankes however, as Ricci's diary of 1818-19 shows, also did much recording on the journey south.) Finati records that twelve days travel brought them to Thebes where an attack of ophthalmia deprived Bankes totally of sight during his ten-day stay.¹⁴³ Their boat was too large to pass through the Cataract so they were obliged to hire a roughly-built and poorly equipped second boat which they boarded at Philae. There was no cabin and only room for Bankes to sleep on board. Travelling south, Bankes and Barthow, still in European dress, excited some curiosity. They were offered and ate crisply fried locusts which tasted 'not wholly unlike a shrimp'. At Derr they were received by one of the ruling 'princes', the 'Cashief' who sent them a gift of sheep and some dates. In return he requested 'soap, gunpowder, and candles'. They reached Wadi Omki, near Wadi Halfa, and Bankes painted a panorama of the view (XII. C. 15 a and b) at this, the farthest point of their journey. On their return they were 'landing almost continually, wherever there were tidings or expectation of any vestiges of antiquity.'

The ruins at Wadi Halfa, which Bankes would excavate on his next journey, remained 'much buried in the sand'. At Abu Simbel the facade of the Great Temple was only partially visible above the level of the sand and the interior had yet to be opened up. Bankes regretted not attempting to excavate the entrance at that time and be the first person to enter. As a rough sketch jotted on the back of an envelope shows (XI. B. 34), Bankes was still speculating on the possibility that the colossi were standing figures, since except for their heads and shoulders their form remained unknown.

Another previously lost fragment of the journal which Bankes wrote up on this trip runs from Qasr Ibrim to Derr and includes Adde and Abu Simbel.¹⁴⁴ Bankes relates the local practice of levying taxes, then: 'In the way to Ibrim I observed in the distance on the right - one of those natural pyramids of rock... On the surface of a rock on the river side there is traced out the mouth of an arched Grott, & the excavation has been just begun' - he describes another, completed but inaccessible, higher up, and the noble aspect of Ibrim. 'I took a path across a corner of the desert through a multitude of tombs, none of which are inscribed. As it is only four years ago that the town was pillaged & dismantled [this dates the journal to 1815] ...rather a place abandoned than a place destroyed...' - All the signs

¹⁴² Finati 1830, 73-108. Otherwise unmarked quotations given here for this journey are from this source.

¹⁴³ Bankes suffered from several such attacks.

¹⁴⁴ Now X. F. 33.

of everyday life remain in place, 'it is a sort of Nubian Pompeii...' - He describes the church, surprised to find such a large Christian establishment so high up the Nile. He found a Greek inscription 'built into the wall of a house, & copied the letters but cannot make sense of them'. Descending into the plain upon the opposite side he found more tombs '& creeping round under the face of the great rock (of Ibrim) discovered the entrances of four grottoes enriched with Hieroglyphics. Two were at a great height & seemed quite inaccessible, but one of my boats crew contrived to climb up & fasten a rope by which I drew myself up, it surprised me to find the signs of (at least occasional) habitation within, the stones upon which a fire had been lighted & ashes about it; I could not learn what sort of people can haunt such a place, but it was evident that our contrivance of the rope had been often resorted to, the pole to which it was fastened retaining the marks. The painting in these grottoes is wonderfully well preserved. I made drawings of them'.

An unlikely tale is told him by the Master of his boat about the 'wonder' of a moving statue at Ibrim - 'A little above Ibrim a part of the face of a rock is smoothed into a sort of Tablet & inscribed with hieroglyphic figures; almost contiguous is the representation of a long line of camels' which he assumes to be of the same period from its proximity - another fish leaps onto their boat, and they pass the district of 'Phareg', where women were wailing. He went on shore, found no antiquities though he had been informed otherwise, and describes the village. They were not surprised to see Europeans as two of them had gone down to Cairo and worked as servants, a common practice. Mr B [Barthow] recognised them. Banks gives a long description of hospitality in the village. 'It was here that I learned the first tidings of the Hippopotamus...' - one was shot near the village three years earlier. He heard there were some 5-600 Mamelukes at Dongola.

At daybreak, his host offers to take him to 'the great grotto'. He passed by 'a small one... & after looking at the colossuses of Ipsambol at a distance we crossed over a part of the desert & so made our way round a Mountain betwixt which & the river there is no direct passage at this season. On the Western side of which opening directly upon the Nile is the door of the great grotto of Addé. Our boat still not appearing I strolled on to a hill that is near, covered with Ruins, called [blank] where I found the remains of a Xtian Church & an interesting Fragment in the Egyptian style. It is singular that this morsel perhaps the most remote of any that exists, is unique in some respects & has a nearer resemblance to the architecture of Greece & Rome in detail than any that is found lower down'. He hears the cries from the village opposite which is being pillaged by 'the arabs of the desert'. Mr B killed several wild geese of a similar species to those kept once at Kingston Hall. There were more tidings of the Hippopotamus, and he saw basking crocodiles, 'several ruins that seem to have been Xtian churches or convents', gazelles, and large lizards. The wife of the Cashef of Derr sends them 'a present of bad watermelons'. 'At last we reached [blank] the village where one of the three Kachiefs

resides... he has always taken more part with the Mameluks than his brother...' and he offers them horses & camels to take them to the Cataract in case there was no wind. Banks receives hospitality from the 'Kachief'. Finally he notes the relevant history of the area from Gibbon, Strabo and others.

Finati tells us that the antiquities of Derr, Amada, Sebuia, Maharraka, 'Gartaas, and Coshtonbé', Gerf Hussein, Dakka, Dendur, Tafa, Kalabsha and Dabod were examined for ruins and inscriptions. Banks spent some days at Philae, and discovered 'by the light of his candles at night' a previously unknown inscription 'Interesting as mentioning the two Cleopatras (successively wives of Ptolemy Lathurus), the same who are addressed on the pedestal of the obelisk'.¹⁴⁵ He made a first attempt, unsuccessful 'for want of proper tackle', to remove the obelisk but did manage to uncover its hitherto buried pedestal. Finati gives a more elaborate version of the dangerous incident at Philae when Banks was prevented from drawing in the temple by a Nubian who put his hand across the paper and menaced him with a knife, 'demanding a present'. Finati was about to draw his pistol, when the fortunate arrival of the 'Cashief of Aswan' sent 'every inhabitant precipitately from the island.' Apart from this, and a minor incident of 'incivility' at Achmim they generally felt themselves to be safe under 'the protection afforded to strangers by Mahomet Ali'.

The islands of Biga and Elephantine were explored and the ancient quarries at Aswan investigated. At Aswan on their return, they were rejoined by D'Acosta who had been left in charge of their original boat, and they now had an additional Nubian interpreter who had been taken on while they were 'in the upper country'.

They sampled the local 'booza', a type of beer, and visited the two temples of Kom Ombo, the quarries of Silsila, Edfu and Esna temples, and Armant, before arriving back at Thebes where some time was spent examining the 'astonishing' remains. An attempt to remove the piece known as the 'Head of Memnon' from the Ramesseum, had also reluctantly to be abandoned despite his having 'brought with him a proper rope with pullies and machinery, for the purpose' after hearing Burkhardt's description of it. (It was later removed by Belzoni and is now in the British Museum.) Instead, he removed what seem to have been two of the large Sekhmet statues from the temple of Mut at Karnak, and also purchased a papyrus. At Gurna, Banks and Finati allowed themselves for amusement to be bitten and stung by snakes and scorpions carried by 'an itinerant juggler' who promised them immunity as a result. They assumed this would be ineffectual since the venom must previously have been removed. On to Dendera, Achmim, Qau el Kebir, and Siout, where Banks expressed his disapproval to Ibrahim, Mohamet Ali's son, at his having pulled down an ancient structure to build his new palace. Later they were entertained by dancing-girls at the house of Ibrahim's European physician.

¹⁴⁵ Banks' footnote, Finati 1830, 86.

Stopping at 'Radamone',¹⁴⁶ Ashmunein, Beni Hassan, Minieh, and Beni Suef, they reached the pyramid fields of Meidum, Dashur, Saqqara, and Giza, where 'after viewing them externally, and mounting to the summit', Bankes fainted in the sarcophagus chamber of the Great Pyramid while exploring the interior by torchlight, and had to be carried out into the air to be revived.

The following day, 16 December 1815, just three months after their departure, they returned to Cairo. Following their return, a bill from J. Barker, 21 December 1815, Cairo, includes entries for items including 'stones and mummies... Boat, Backshish etc... to land the statues... Mahamed's gun'.¹⁴⁷

After a brief rest Bankes then began his first journey to 'Jerusalem and other parts of Syria' in January 1816, taking with him Finati and D'Acosta. Burkhardt was among others who saw them off at the 'great gate' of Cairo. On Burkhardt's advice Bankes had now grown a beard and donned 'the turban' (Turkish dress), a 'disguise' which he kept on 'for upwards of two years'.¹⁴⁸ The first benefit of this had been to enable him to explore the mosques of Cairo.

During the following tour through what is now Israel, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, Bankes visited, among other places, Gaza, Jericho and Jerusalem, recorded Jerash, and visited (and apparently had some altercation with) the legendary Lady Hestor Stanhope on Mount Lebanon.¹⁴⁹ From Damascus he visited the temples at Baalbec, and went on to Aleppo, where John Barker was the British Consul. After overcoming many obstacles they were finally able to make the difficult and dangerous journey across the desert to Palmyra.¹⁵⁰

Bankes spent the greater part of his time in the Near East travelling continually, seldom stopping to rest. His exploits there were as dangerous and as occupied with scholarly discoveries and recording as were his Egyptian and Nubian voyages. A large harvest of drawings may have been his own work although companions were to help him with measuring and recording.¹⁵¹ His plans, elevations and views of Jerash were apparently completed 'so as to be almost ready for publication, but other matters calling me off from them, it has been delayed'.¹⁵² Despite all expectations, nothing was published.

At Antioch in June 1816, 'The intelligence of my poor old Uncle's death which reached me just as I parted from you, has made it very necessary that I should be

¹⁴⁶ Deir el-Bersha.

¹⁴⁷ HJ 1/36

¹⁴⁸ Finati 1830, 110.

¹⁴⁹ Lady Hestor's scathing references to 'Bankes, whom she disliked very much', including one to his meanness, are quoted by B.B. Barker in his biography of his father John Barker. Barker 1876, 267, 270-1.

¹⁵⁰ This part of Bankes' journey is described in Finati 1830, chapter III.

¹⁵¹ On this first Syrian journey began the association with James Silk Buckingham as a travelling companion which was to end in their quarrel and lawsuit over the authorship of drawings published by Buckingham as his own.

¹⁵² Bankes' footnote, Finati 1830, 149.

expeditious in my journey homewards.’¹⁵³ He intended to travel through the islands by Smyrna and the Troad to Constantinople, and then through Greece and the Ionian islands to Italy. He planned to winter there, not revisiting Naples, but ‘making my way to by Venice & Milan & Bologna then[?] to Florence & perhaps a third time to Rome.’¹⁵⁴ Letters of introduction from the Consul in Constantinople, Finati’s account of his whereabouts, and Irby and Mangles, confirm that Bankes ‘explored Greece, Asia Minor and the Archipelago’.¹⁵⁵ A letter dated 1 July 1816 written from Aleppo is addressed to Bankes in Constantinople,¹⁵⁶ and he was there in mid- October 1816.¹⁵⁷

He was in Athens on 23 April 1817, where he gave a ball at the house of the Pro-Consul.¹⁵⁸ Despite having made up his mind to return home that Autumn, on a sudden whim, which he says would have surprised him six months earlier, the ‘dread of the approach of winter’ and the desire to return to Egypt, made him decide to make a second journey through Syria.¹⁵⁹

Bankes had parted from Finati when he left the port of Antioch for Cyprus with D’Acosta on 26 June 1816. Finati was commissioned to sell off his horses.¹⁶⁰ Bankes’ subsequent journey is therefore not related by Finati, who returned to Egypt and rejoined the army, since the newly-arrived Salt could not find him any work with other travellers. Eventually Salt sent him to Thebes with a commission of supplies for Beechey. Finati then joined Beechey, Belzoni, and Irby, and Mangles on the Nubian expedition which culminated in the opening of Abu Simbel. Finati next accompanied Colonel Stratton, Captain Bennett, and Mr Fuller into Nubia. They returned to Thebes ‘where Lord Belmore’s family arrived just about the same time’. Now directed by Salt to rejoin Bankes at Acre, he travelled with Mrs Belzoni and her young servant James Curtin, arriving at Jaffa on 9 March 1818¹⁶¹ There, he and Antonio waited for Bankes’ return from further tours in Syria, and Finati learned that Bankes had, in his absence, visited ‘all Asia Minor, and the islands of the Archipelago and Adriatic, Constantinople and all Greece, with Albania and Roumelia, and even Maina.’

¹⁵³ He is about to embark and his letter is incorrectly dated 23 July. Finati 1830 gives the correct date for his departure as 26 June 1816. HJ 1/59

¹⁵⁴ Uncatalogued letter, Tripoli June 17 1816, Dorset County Archive.

¹⁵⁵ Irby and Mangles 1823, 183.

¹⁵⁶ HH.

¹⁵⁷ HJ/1 1/84.

¹⁵⁸ This has been pieced together from a bill for expenses for a ball, in Italian, HJ 1/71, at the house of a man named as Consul in HJ 1/84.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Bankes in Cyprus to unnamed recipient in Cairo, 15 October 1817, HJ 1/75. Probably written to Burkhardt; sadly this was the very day on which he died in Cairo. Bankes mentions that he will be asking Salt for permission to remove the Egyptian stone from El Arish (an Egyptian site on the coast between Gaza and Pelusium. The stone proved too heavy to move, Finati 1830, 295-7). He asks the recipient to let him know which places to visit when he enters Egypt by the Damietta branch, since he has no books with him. He wishes to inspect the new discoveries in the interior of the Great Pyramid.

¹⁶⁰ Finati 1830, 184.

¹⁶¹ Finati 1830, 218-21.

At Jerusalem, in the Spring of 1818, Finati rejoined Bankes in the company of a large group of British travellers: Irby and Mangles, Lord Belmore and his 'family and suite', Mrs Belzoni and Curtin, and a Mr Legh, and clandestine excavations were carried out at the 'Tomb of the Kings'. Bankes' continual, almost frenetic, travels back and forth, now included a visit to Petra, the ancient city which Burkhardt had been the first European to enter. Shaving off his beard, armed, and wearing Albanian costume, Bankes also entered the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, a place forbidden to non-Muslims on pain of death, taking an apprehensive Finati with him. Shortly after this they returned to Egypt.

BANKES' SECOND JOURNEY IN EGYPT AND NUBIA

Bankes returned to Egypt partly on account of the new discoveries (which he had heard of first hand in letters from Belzoni and perhaps also from Salt).¹ Abu Simbel was now open, the tomb of King Seti I had been discovered at Thebes, and much excavation had taken place at Thebes, and at Giza, the site of the great pyramids and the Sphinx. Irby and Mangles say that Bankes, who on his travels 'leaves nothing unexplored' also had 'some idea of penetrating from the second cataract into Abyssinia'.² Bankes intended to leave Egypt in the Spring after the completion of this second trip, and Salt was planning to send some of his own papers back with him.

Bankes re-entered Egypt through the Delta, where at Damietta he was able to procure, examine, and record the bones and 'hairless skin' of a dead hippopotamus, which he found did not much resemble its depiction 'in the common prints, being longer and lower'. He was told that it was extremely unusual for a hippopotamus to be found below the Cataracts.³ With the same investigative scrutiny that he brought to architecture, he checked its teeth and decided that it was a young specimen.

According to Finati⁴ two excursions in the Delta region were then made from Damietta, where they stayed with the 'native Vice-Consul for the English'. One was 'by Mansourah to the lake Menzaleh, and the other by Matarieh to San, where the fragments are lying of six great granite obelisks, and a very colossal sphinx of the same material'. The latter, Bankes adds in a footnote, he believes to have been removed to Paris. Bankes visited the ruins of 'San' which Hamilton and others thought to be ancient Tanis, but he considered that the 'true site' was some thirty miles distant '& still retains its old name'.⁵ I visited it & found it as Strabo has described it, very vast; but without any interesting remains. At San there seems to have been a magnificent granite temple'. He passed up the Nile towards Cairo and went by a canal to further antiquities at Timei(?)⁶ and then 'Bahbeit'⁷ (which he found ruined but magnificent with very delicate 'sculpture'). Returning to Cairo, at the end of September 1818,⁸ he was able to visit the recent

¹ HJ 1/75, 15 October 1817, from Cyprus.

² Irby and Mangles 1823, 293, 232.

³ See letter to his father, HH.

⁴ Finati 1830, 299.

⁵ Probably the site at Tell el Timai (Thmuis), as the name and distance fit. San el-Hagar is now recognised as being ancient Tanis. Although P. Montet considered that this site was the ancient Pi-Ramesses, the Delta capital of the Ramessides, further investigation showed that no buildings were built before Psusennes I of the 21st Dynasty, and the Ramesside material must have been brought from other places. Baines and Malek 1996, 176, map 167.

⁶ Probably Tell el Timai (Thmuis).

⁷ Probably Behbeit el Hagar, the site of one of the most important temples of Isis in Egypt, noted for its delicacy of relief.

⁸ Halls 1834, I, 488.

discoveries at Giza with Salt. At the pyramids he inspected 'a new passage & chamber & the termination of the well in the largest, two passages & chambers (in one of which is a sarcophagus) in the second, & the forepart of the great Sphynx, which is now again almost buried in the sand.'⁹

They also visited the quarries at Tura.¹⁰ Bankes writes: 'I engaged a cangia in the beginning of October at the price of 675 piastres monthly with a crew of 12 men... five pair of oars although the boat was adapted for six... Mr Salt's is a large [?] hired at 900 pts per month with two Cabins & very roomy in the foreparts... Both this and my own carry each two triangular sails, the covered accommodation in both is increased by a temporary arch of palm branches with matting spread over them - covered prow[?] and [?] in front of the principal cabin.'

After some procrastination I embarked at old Cairo on the [blank] of October being the day after the last of the Courban Bairam [the Islamic festival] & passing up the river was set on shore in about two hours at Toorah [Tura].'

Unable to hire asses as all were engaged in the Pasha's service, he was reduced to going forward on foot. He examined the ancient quarries, and concluded that in building the pyramids the Egyptians 'had not only the glory of creating artificial mountains but one that is uncommon in having visibly reduced the natural ones.'

After an attack of ophthalmia had forced Bankes to take what was probably a sensible rest, preparations were begun for their expedition up the river.¹¹ Bankes was probably staying with Salt at the Consulate. According to Fuller, 'although its outward appearance was not very promising, we found within airy and pleasant, containing some spacious apartments, and having the advantage of a good garden shaded by lofty palm-trees, and laid out in gravel walks and shrubberies in the English fashion.'¹²

The second Nile journey began some time after 13 October 1818 (at which date Salt was still writing from Cairo).¹³ This time Bankes travelled with a large group; the original party consisting of Henry Salt, Baron Sack,¹⁴ according to Salt, 'chamberlain to the King

⁹ HJ 1/180.

¹⁰ From a notebook of jottings, Dorset County Archive, D/BKL Box Egypt, (unnumbered).

¹¹ Finati 1830, 300.

¹² Fuller 1829, 144.

¹³ Halls 1834, II, 128.

¹⁴ Sack, a noted naturalist, had travelled from Rome to the warmer climes of Egypt for his health, bringing with him as his companion, F.C. Gau. The two fell out almost immediately and it was because Gau then found himself alone and friendless in Egypt that he decided to take up his sketchbook and travel into Nubia (Gau 1822). Sack continued to collect specimens of fauna on their journey (Halls, II, 134). Finati refers to him as an 'eminent naturalist', recently arrived. Sack is described by Fuller as 'one of the king of Prussia's chamberlains, who having passed great(sic) part of his earlier life in South America, in making collections in natural history, was following up his favourite pursuit in these countries [the Near East], in defiance of ill-health and at the advanced age of nearly seventy years.' Fuller 1829, 256. Mays 1959, 313, note 1, gives his full name as Baron Albert von Sack 'who had spent nearly three years collecting livestock in Dutch Guiana and had published a book about it in London in 1810' (Sack 1810).

of Prussia',¹⁵ Linant, and Ricci. 'As our objects were the same, to examine the antiquities and make sketches of them, nothing could agree better nor prove more agreeable.'¹⁶ (They were later to be joined briefly by Belzoni from Thebes to Philae, and for longer periods by John Hyde, and D'Athanasia, and to meet up with various other travellers *en route* including Huyot, Gau, Fuller and Foskett, Baillie and Barry).¹⁷ They were accompanied by Finati as their dragoman, and what he refers to as 'some inferior attendants'.

The flotilla (the four boats of which can be seen in the view of Abu Simbel, XI. A. 106) is described by Finati as: 'A large canjia with fourteen oars was engaged by the month for Mr. Bankes; a more roomy, but less manageable vessel called a mash, for Mr. Salt; an inferior sort of boat for the baron, and a fourth for riding-asses, milch goats, sheep, fowls, and such conveniences' which was also used for cooking and the servants.¹⁸

They progressed slowly up the Nile, examining every quarry and every tomb in 'the ridge of the Mokattam',¹⁹ and the tomb of Djehutyhotep at Deir el Bersha.²⁰ No doubt their thorough preparations had included an ample provision of ladders and candles²¹ so they were able to examine and admire all the details of the *arts et métiers* scenes at Beni Hasan. From a rare dated drawing by Linant, we know that they had reached Beni Hasan by 23 October 1818.²²

¹⁵ Halls, II, 121.

¹⁶ Salt's letter to Mrs Morgan, Halls 1834, II, 122.

¹⁷ Probably most of these are missing from Finati's narrative in order to minimise the impression that the Nile was full of travellers at this time. Forbin says that in 1818 at Luxor he decided not to proceed into Nubia because all sense of daring and adventure had evaporated at the sight of the Belmore party *en famille* who had just rendered mundane the perilous journey to the Second Cataract. '...husbands, wives, young children, chaplains, surgeons, nurses, cooks, all in various phrases, were anxiously talking of Elephantina. But with me now the illusion vanished; the fascination... had now become commonplace', Forbin 1819a, 50.

Although not without its dangers, the journey as far as the First Cataract was *de rigueur* for anyone wanting to see the country, and although Wadi Halfa was a more difficult journey it was by no means sufficiently so to deter travellers. South of this area however, as Bankes himself found, remained far less easily accessible.

¹⁸ Belzoni commented sarcastically on what he considered their luxurious mode of travel: 'for even at table we had not ice to cool ourselves after the hot repast, which was concluded with fruits, and only two sorts of wine.' Apparently what irked him were exaggerated accounts of hardship and starvation penned by travellers who had actually been living in style, 'like Sir John Falstaff' (Belzoni 1822, II, 105-6). Salt however remarked that they were 'living during the whole time on board our boats, in a *frugal* way...' , (Halls 1834, II, 135).

¹⁹ Actually the range of hills east of Cairo, but the term here apparently also covering Middle Egypt.

²⁰ Finati 1830, 302-3. As Ricci was not yet with them his watercolour drawings of this tomb (I. C. 7-8) must have been made later on their return. According to Irby and Mangles 1822, 165, Bankes was the first to record this tomb at 'Radimore' (Deir el Bersha) with its famous painted wall, now mainly destroyed, showing the transport of a colossal statue of the tomb-owner. 'Mr Bankes and Mr Beechey are the only travellers who have visited this tomb since we discovered it: the former has accurate drawings of all its contents.' A further large, highly finished, copy of the painting is among the Salt watercolours at the British Museum; see Bierbrier 1983.

²¹ Unlike de Montulé. 'Not knowing that it was necessary to be provided with everything in order to travel in Egypt, we had forgotten the article of candles; so that we were in the midst of the most profound darkness in the cabin...' (de Montulé 1821, 6).

²² See unnumbered drawing in Miscellaneous section of the portfolio.

Ricci and Beechey did not set off with the party from Cairo but joined them at Thebes. They were 'established there, residing in the vestibule of one of the tombs of the kings, not far from that discovered by Belzoni, who was also there himself, and was to join us, at Mr. Banks' request, so far as Philae, that he might superintend the removal of the obelisk.'²³ Giovanni D'Athanasia, employed by Salt for excavation work, also joined the party from Thebes onward, according to his own record, although he is not mentioned by Finati.

Finati notes that they spent some time at Thebes, where Salt's rival, the French Consul and collector of antiquities, Drovetti was also installed. Despite some initial qualms the 'antiquaries' residing at Thebes managed to inure themselves to using the wooden fragments of antiquity, such as mummy cases, as seats and tables, shelves, and even fuel (following the practice of the local people). Any remorse was assuaged by the huge quantity of such items which were being brought up from the tombs at that time. One evening Finati and Banks found three women lifting bull-mummies from a pit behind 'the Memnonium' (the Ramesseum). They purchased two of them, then descended into the pit themselves where they searched over stacks of embalmed bodies for papyri, finding, however, only one.

The journey is not described in great detail in Finati's account, nor are any dates given for it. We do however have the dates from their leaving Thebes on 16 November 1818, up to the end of the navigable section of the journey at the impassable Second Cataract on 26 February 1819, from Ricci's manuscript diary.²⁴ These dates are confirmed by the dates of Linant's Mss diary for this journey, which also gives the dates for the forced early return of Salt and himself to Cairo (perhaps accompanied by Sack) because of Salt's illness.²⁵ John Hyde joined the party at Abu Simbel and his unpublished manuscript journal²⁶ also gives dates from there on. Unfortunately it is not certain that these can be applied to Banks' party since it is not clear whether Hyde remained with them for the entire journey back to Thebes. His journal for the return journey is less personal and filled with groundplans and descriptions. Although there is no mention of companions, it is likely that he would have found it difficult to make these plans if alone, but the manuscript is a fair copy and not the original notebook, so they could have been inserted later. At any rate, they were all back at Thebes at the same time, although Banks, Ricci and Beechey left Thebes before him.

Finati's account passes immediately from Thebes to the exciting events at Philae, their excavations there and the removal of the obelisk, but Ricci notes that their first stop after leaving Thebes was at Armant on the same day, 16 November 1818. Ricci's diary

²³ Finati 1830, 303-4.

²⁴ The diary was found unidentified amongst Banks' papers in the Dorset County Archive.

²⁵ Linant de Bellefonds Mss 267, Bibliothèque du Louvre, Paris.

²⁶ British Library Add. Mss 42102-8.

mainly records his own visits and drawings at sites but it is reasonable to assume that the visits, if not the drawings, usually entailed the whole party. They stayed at Armant for the following day and Ricci drew the temple and some of its more remarkable details. They spent 18 November 1818 travelling to Esna, and on 19 November 1818 Ricci drew some details of that temple and they visited the Bey, and then crossed the river to visit an unnamed small temple. This was evidently the Temple of Isis at el Hilla of which there are two plans in the portfolio, III. B. 10-12 (PM, vol.V, 171). The temple was destroyed in 1828. From there they left for el Kab where they visited two rock-cut temples the night of their arrival, 20 November 1818. The following daybreak, Ricci visited the enclosure, after which he drew the temple reliefs, but at noon they left to do the more interesting drawings of the tombs. Bankes again suffered from an attack of ophthalmia here from the wind-blown sand, preventing him from continuing his work until the 22nd when Ricci's treatment effected a successful cure.

On 22 November 1818 they travelled to Edfu and drew the temple. Becalmed, they were unable to proceed, so revisited it on the 23rd. They finally arrived at Gebel el Silsila on 25 November 1818 where they visited the rock temple and another small temple. Before their arrival there Belzoni notes meeting the small boat of Mr Lebolo, Drovetti's Piedmontese agent; 'he was hailed but would not stop to speak'. This was put down to the rivalry and mistrust which had grown up between the two camps of Consul-collectors.²⁷ Continuing on to Kom Ombos on 26 November 1818 they visited and drew the temple there, before arriving at Aswan on 29 November at dusk and paying a visit to the Cashieff. Belzoni had set off to Aswan a day ahead of them, accompanied by Osman,²⁸ being anxious about the ominous behaviour of Lebolo, and the significance of this for their being able to obtain the Philae obelisk, the 'ownership' of which was disputed.²⁹

Ricci spent three days working at the island of Elephantine, and there are drawings of the now-destroyed temples in the Bankes Mss.³⁰ The evening before they left, Bankes went off to visit a granite column some two hours away which carried a Latin inscription.

They left Aswan four hours before daybreak on 3 December 1818, but the lack of wind prevented them passing through the First Cataract area as planned, and they remained stranded a league from Aswan. The following day however they succeeded, with the help of the 'Arabs', in getting three of the boats through fairly easily; each one taking an hour and a half to pass down. Unfortunately the last boat was damaged when it hit the granite

²⁷ Belzoni 1822 II, 107. Conflicting claims to areas for excavation and the rights of ownership of objects had created an atmosphere of antagonism which ended in violence against him, according to Belzoni's own narrative. Fiechter 1996 gives a good account of the situation.

²⁸ A British soldier and adventurer who had converted to Islam and was in the service of Belzoni. See Bierbrier 1995, 315.

²⁹ Belzoni 1822 II, 108.

³⁰ Ricci also drew a series of fifteen drawings constituting an important record of the temples, see Usick 1998.

rocks (perhaps breaking up entirely as Ricci uses the expression 'si e rotta'). Nevertheless, they reached Philae on 5 December 1818.

Nine days were spent at Philae and Ricci says that they put off their departure for a day because of the visit of four Englishmen. This was the party of Baillie, Godfrey, Barry, and Wise.³¹ Ricci, who always seems to begin work the moment they arrive, was kept busy recording the vast temple. From Finati we learn that Bankes began excavations there, 'employing many hands in clearing the ground, both within and without the ruins, and in destroying the great masses of crude brick-work which had been built up against them. The laying-open of the pavement in one of the chambers of the principal temple discovered the secret entrance to some others, that were quite unknown before, but they are without ornament, and nothing was found in them. The removal was commenced also both of the granite obelisk and its pedestal.'³² These objects which Bankes had been unable to remove on his first trip, 'for want of proper tackle' were now to be removed by Belzoni, an expert in these matters. After some arguments with the local people over their rights to the obelisk, there followed the difficult problems of the physical removal of the obelisk and its pedestal. Unfortunately the obelisk proved too heavy for the pier which Belzoni had built in order to load it onto its boat, and the result was that 'the pier, with the obelisk, and some of the men, took a slow movement, and majestically descended into the river.'³³ Belzoni took the blame for this on himself, or rather on his having entrusted the building of the pier to others. He noted that Bankes, who was not present at this event, 'said that such things would happen sometimes; but I saw he was not in a careful humour himself'. As Finati put it, more bluntly, from Bankes' point of view; 'Mr Bankes said little, but was evidently disgusted by the accident'.³⁴ Fortunately it was eventually refloated and began its long journey back to Kingston Hall. Meanwhile an accident during the removal of the pedestal left it grounded in the middle of the cataract where it remained until its removal some four years later.³⁵

Huyot wrote to Drovetti from Aswan on 13 December 1818 with the painful news of this *fait accompli*. The obelisk, which Drovetti considered as his own, was already on

³¹ Unnamed by Ricci, but named by Belzoni 1822, II, 114, as 'Mr Baley, Mr Godfrey, and two other gentlemen' and also by John Hyde who names all four.

³² Finati 1830, 307.

³³ The whole incident is dealt with in detail in Belzoni 1822, II, 109-124.

³⁴ Finati 1830, 309. There are several interesting letters from Belzoni to Bankes, giving news of his discoveries, which also throw some light on their relationship. Belzoni's tone is often quite unpleasant; combining obsequiousness with underlying aggression, believing that Bankes despises him for not being a learned gentleman. Bankes does in fact write slightly of him in 1823; 'Belzoni is on some wild project in Africa and writes puffing letters home which are published in the newspapers, his aim seems to be Timbuctoo'. III 1/227, letter to Salt.

³⁵ D'Athanasia 1836, 38.

the cangia and would leave the island the next day (although argument would continue over its ownership even after its removal).³⁶

While all this intense activity was taking place, Finati, finding himself at a loose end, took the opportunity of the 'three or four weeks' stay at Philae to take a Nubian bride. Perhaps it was also now that he chiselled his name on a facade of the temple. He was left behind with Belzoni to oversee the passage of the obelisk through the cataract. Belzoni then returned to Thebes while Finati caught up with Bankes' party at Kalabsha, and was then sent down to the banker at Esna for money 'to meet all these expenses', before rejoining them.³⁷ Finati's account now skips all the intervening stops, and recommences at Sebuia.

Despite Huyot apparently being on Drovetti's side in the obelisk dispute, Ricci's diary reveals that when Huyot was taken ill at Aswan(?), Ricci was dispatched back from Dabod (where they had arrived on 14 December 1818 after leaving Philae) in order to treat him. Huyot then returned with Ricci to Philae on 17 December. On that day, according to Ricci, at seven in the morning the obelisk began its crossing of the cataract, and by ten it had successfully passed through. Ricci and Huyot arrived together at Dabod at mid-day, the whole party left, and their flotilla rested overnight before their arrival at Qertassi on 18 December 1818. Huyot remained with Bankes' party up to Abu Simbel.

The day was spent at Qertassi, where Ricci visited the small temple (the Kiosk Temple). On 19 December they had moved on to Tafa where they visited both temples, and on 20 December made a measured plan of one of them. They arrived at Kalabsha on 22 December and Ricci visited the temple and 'grotta', probably the rock-cut temple of Beit el Wali. Despite the extremely cold weather, Ricci began to draw the internal chambers of Kalabsha temple and they continued work there for about six days. Just before leaving, a hyena which had entered the village in search of prey, was shot and brought to them. Bankes, Linant and Ricci all recorded the incident. A hyena was clearly little known to them at close quarters, and of some interest since Bankes recorded a detailed description of the animal. Christmas day however came and went and was not recorded in any special way by the party.

At Dendera, where they arrived on 28 December, Ricci spent the morning helping Bankes to make a plan of the temple, then in the afternoon drew the external facade, work which took him until the following day. Arriving at Gerf Hussein on 30 December 1818, drawings were made of the rock-cut temple over three days. They spent an hour visiting the small temple at Qurta on 2 January 1819 on their way to Dakka where four days were spent in drawing, arriving at Sebuia on 7 January 1819.

³⁶ 'Je vous apprend avec peine que l'obelisque est déjà sur Cange et que demain il aura quitté l'Ile.' Curto and Donatelli 1985, 116, letter 90 [but incorrectly transcribed there as from 'Guyot'].

³⁷ Finati 1830, 310.

At Sebuia, the entrance to the temple was cleared of sand and the internal chambers revealed 'very well preserved' Egyptian paintings which according to Salt 'had escaped all other travellers' and included 'some of the sacred boats with their colours entire.'³⁸ In the Sanctuary they found the remains of a fresco of St Peter from the time of the temple's conversion to a church, juxtaposed to two earlier painted figures of Ramesses II, giving the curious impression that the pharaoh was adoring the saint. Bankes was even more struck by what appeared to be the sudden abandonment of the church with its sacred vessels still in use; he later described this to John Hyde. They remained at the site for five days.

Finati's narrative now jumps on to Abu Simbel, omitting all the work carried out at the sites between. In fact their next stop after Sebuia was on 13 January 1819 when they again met Baillie's party, now returning from the Second Cataract. The day was spent together and their already large collection of drawings admired. The next day they arrived at Amada and Ricci was back at work there for the four following days. It was only two hours from there to Derr where they spent a further three days before arriving at Qasr Ibrim on 21 January 1819 to draw the shrines which Bankes had first investigated and drawn in 1815.³⁹

When they reached the Great Temple at Abu Simbel (first stumbled upon unexpectedly by Burkhardt in March 1813, and only opened by Belzoni in August 1817, after Bankes' first visit) Bankes decided to excavate one of the colossal figures down to the feet. Belzoni's team had concentrated on clearing the entrance to obtain access to the interior and no statue had yet been cleared even to the waist. Bankes himself had even speculated in 1815 that the statues might be standing. According to Salt they were 'excavating at our joint expense.'⁴⁰

'A few letters scratched on the surface of the legs had excited Mr. Bankes's curiosity so much from the antiquity which he was disposed to ascribe to their form, that, judging it likely that those legs which were nearer to the door would be likely to furnish fuller examples, he undertook to pursue the inquiry further; but for this purpose it was necessary so far to undo what had been done, that the sand was rolled down again on much of that lower half which had been uncovered, in order to lay bare what was wanting of the adjoining colossus, since we were too far removed from the Nile to get rid of the mass altogether, without a much greater expenditure of time and labour. Within three or four days accordingly a large and long inscription first began to make its appearance, and to show itself above the surface by degrees, yet it lay so deep and the position was so awkward for opening it, that it was a work both of difficulty and time and contrivance to

³⁸ Halls II, 119.

³⁹ Dewachter 1971b, 94, suggests Huyot's visiting Ibrim on this date, 21 January 1819, which can now be confirmed since he is with Bankes' party.

⁴⁰ Halls II, 118.

obtain the last line, which was only at length brought about by consolidating the sand with immense quantities of water poured upon it. The discovery, however, which seemed to delight all concerned in it, was considered to be an ample recompense for the toil. So soon as that had been copied, it became its turn to be covered again, part of the sand running in directly upon becoming dry, and part being rolled down upon it in clearing the fourth colossal head, (which had never before emerged at all above the surface,) for the sake of making a general drawing of the whole: and the exterior was thus left greatly disencumbered for travellers who might come after, the level of the drift having been lowered many feet throughout its whole extent, where it encroaches upon the temple.' Bankes noted; 'The inscription relates to the King Psammeticus, and is certainly among the very earliest extant in the Greek language.'⁴¹ Their labours were inspected by the visit of 'the Defterdar Bey', son-in-law of Mahomet Ali and governor of the upper country', who was positive that so much effort could only be made in search of treasure, and remained unconvinced when their true purposes were explained to him.⁴²

On the thigh of the colossus to the left of the entrance, Salt carved an inscription recording their excavation, while Bankes, most unusually for him, inscribed the leg of the southernmost statue with his own name.

They remained at Abu Simbel from 23 January until 18 February 1819. According to Ricci, 'the Frenchmen' left on the 8th. This was probably Huyot who we know now returned down-river, but with whom is not specified.⁴³

On 14 February 1819 John Hyde⁴⁴ arrived at Abu Simbel with his Greek servant and Arab interpreter Kyriaco Porithi, the former dragoman of Lord Belmore. Hyde, a Manchester man, had arrived in Cairo 16 December 1818 having left London on 27 September 1818. Although travelling alone they had already seen Rifaud at Luxor, encountered Belzoni's boat bringing the Seti I sarcophagus to Europe, met Baillie's party near Edfu, and Captain Ducane and Mr Curteis at Philae. Arriving in the evening he

⁴¹ Finati 1830, 313-16.

⁴² In addition to Bankes' portfolio, a further drawing attributed to Linant in the Searight Collection shows excavation in progress. In addition to the Nubian workforce, the work is superintended by brightly-dressed, red-capped soldiers, some armed, some relaxing with pipes; something that does not appear in the views made for Bankes. Atil et al. 1995, 74-5, pl. 42; 124, detail of pl. 42.

⁴³ Huyot had left Cairo on 26 November 1818 with de Montulé, whom he had met in Alexandria, Huyot having earlier been forced by a leg injury to separate from Forbin. They arrived in Thebes on 9 December 1818 but did not stop, continuing to Aswan where they arrived 14 December. De Montulé left Aswan on 19 December to return north, evidently leaving Huyot at Aswan (de Montulé 1821, 14-33).

From the dates on the watercolours now attributed to Huyot (Leclant 1961, 36) it can be seen that Huyot was at Kalabsha on 22 December 1818, and at Derr on 21 January 1819, so presumably still with the party. However Huyot was still making a drawing at Abu Simbel as 19 February 1819 (although he could have been simply finishing off the drawing on this date), while Ricci notes the departure of 'the Frenchmen' as 8 February. According to Dewachter 1971b, Huyot was at Ibrim on 21 or 22 February. By 23 February he had already returned to Derr while Bankes' party had continued travelling south after leaving Abu Simbel.

⁴⁴ There is a fair copy of John Hyde's journal of his travels, BL Add Ms 42102, from which the following details have been taken. Either the diary date or the page numbers have been given as the references.

formally presented his letters of introduction to Salt 'from whom I received the most friendly reception - this gentleman introduced me to Mr. B: son of Sir Wm. Beechy[sic], Mr. Bankes, late MP for Truro - Dr. Ricci'. Hyde now joined their party. His journal helps us to keep a track of their progress from this point on, although it contains little in the way of personal details about him or his companions.

They now visited Gebel el-Shams, sheltering from a storm on the island of Shataui. The following day they stopped at an island about four hours away, having discovered a quantity of Coptic writings in the desert about a half-hour's distance from the Nile. On 20 February near Faras, Hyde records that they passed the 'remains of several Greek, or early Christian churches, mostly situated on the Western [side] the Nile - all of which Mr B examined with the most minute attention to find out any inscription or Date that could at all throw a light upon their history - but ineffectually.' Reaching Wadi Halfa at half-past three on the 21 February 1819, 'Mr Salt pitched his tent to remain some days, this completes our journey by water as the rocks of the second cataract are much more numerous and intricate than those of the first.'

Another extensive excavation was undertaken in the district of Wadi Halfa, among what Finati considered to be unpromising looking remains, in order to while away the time spent negotiating with the 'Kashief'. He was reluctant to provide camel transport or other help for the rest of their journey, but finally provided them with a letter of recommendation to his son, and an Abade escort.⁴⁵ On the 22 February they visited the 'travellers rock' of Abusir, the point of return for many travellers. Hyde inscribed his own name and recorded in his journal the other graffiti he found as 'it is customary with travellers to inscribe their names upon the rock'. They remained at Wadi Halfa until 26 February 1819 when the journey south became an overland one, the second cataract now preventing further progress by boat. At this point Ricci's diary ends, while Linant's journal continues to report the dates of his homeward stops with Salt.⁴⁶

They took their leave of Salt on 26 February 1819⁴⁷ and the following day Linant's journal records the point of their return to Cairo. Salt had become ill⁴⁸ and judged it prudent to leave the party before the rigours of the overland trek, taking Linant, and perhaps the elderly Sack, with him.⁴⁹ Hyde names the remaining party as consisting of Bankes, Beechey, himself and Ricci, three servants, six Abades, the Sheikh of Wadi Halfa, a native, and Hassan, Mr Bankes' pilot; sixteen in total (D'Athanasi was

⁴⁵ Finati 1830, 318.

⁴⁶ This is at first difficult to see as he went back over the pages of his journal writing in these additional dates at each site; consequently, his journal also appears to end at this point.

⁴⁷ John Hyde Mss.

⁴⁸ A 'violent complaint', probably dysentery, which almost killed him according to Salt. Halls 1834, II, 112.

⁴⁹ Sack is simply not mentioned, either as continuing or as returning. He is certainly back at Cairo with Salt on his return, well before the arrival of Bankes and the rest, but he may of course have returned even earlier. Hyde, who joined them at Abu Simbel, does not mention him at all.

presumably included as a servant). They had ten camels and the Sheikh of Wadi Halfa's donkey.⁵⁰

Having successfully reached this far, Bankes now hoped to attain Dongola and 'even upon penetrating to Meroë'⁵¹. Beyond this point their journey would have become even more interesting to him as they were entering an area which had been visited by very few others.

They now followed the cataract by land, riding along the river bank and sleeping out in the open. They passed 'Murgheezy' (Mirgissa) where the fortress contained some fragmentary hieroglyphs.⁵² Their travels took them opposite Uronarti on 1 March 1819, and they were impressed by the ruins at Semna which they left on 3 March 1819, having discovered Burkhardt's name written there. This, according to D'Athanasi, impressed upon them all his courage in venturing there alone. They met two caravans coming from Dongola but none which they could join going in their direction. The Mameluks escorting one of the caravans were alarmed at first on seeing them 'in Oriental garb' but then reassured by the sight of Bankes and Hyde who were wearing European dress.⁵³

On Sunday 7 March 1819, at Mograka below Amada, they stopped to rest and Bankes and Beechey stretched out under a tree while the rest bathed.⁵⁴ They had been told by their Abade guides and interpreters that the stop was necessary 'on the pretext that the river could not be crossed upon a raft higher up', and while they relaxed, their Abade guides secretly made off with their camels. They were pursued in vain. D'Athanasi thought that their guides were motivated by anxiety for the safety of their camels after Bankes had intimated his intention to make a crossing of the river with them.

Finding themselves stranded at least one hundred and fifty miles above the second cataract, without any guides or interpreters in the local language, no transport for themselves or their baggage, and no village nearby, they 'necessarily remained stationary for[?] this night and were supplied with a Lamb and Milk by a neighbouring Cottager'. This disaster still did not dampen their enthusiasm for exploration since the following day Hyde continues, 'having been informed of ruins at a little distance... they were inspected but did not seem to be of any great antiquity'. Opening communications in a combination of sign language and Arabic with the sheikh from the island opposite, a makeshift raft was constructed by the natives 'of 7 or 8 Domb trees [palms] tied together with ropes formed of green rushes and Domb leaves, a skin filled with wind being attached on each side'⁵⁵ and they and their baggage were ferried across in ones and twos, the rafts being pushed along

⁵⁰ John Hyde Mss, 92.

⁵¹ Finati 1830, 320.

⁵² Finati 1830, 322.

⁵³ D'Athanasi 1836, 43.

⁵⁴ D'Athanasi 1836, 44.

⁵⁵ John Hyde Mss, 123.

by swimming 'natives'. Bankes and Beechey were first to cross.⁵⁶ The operation took all day because of the current and they got soaked through. Hyde was almost swept away by the strength of the current, 'the accident so alarmed him that he fell seriously ill, and was within an ace of dying.'⁵⁷ Hyde himself does not mention his health in his journal although Finati and D'Athanasi both say that he became extremely weak and that his life was in danger.

Finding themselves some four or five miles from Amara, Finati was sent on there to ask for assistance from the son of the Casheff of Wadi Halfa, but this was not forthcoming. Finati returned to the others who had managed to find two Nubians, one of whom who had worked as a servant in Cairo, who were prepared to hire them two asses (on 11 March 1819) thereby enabling them to reach Amara. This sufficed for their baggage, but they were forced to make the fatiguing journey through the deep sand to Amara on foot. This time they received a better welcome, although their host helped himself to Mr Hyde's supply of spirits.⁵⁸ Bankes 'who still would not abandon his favourite object of proceeding much further, did his utmost' to persuade the 'young Prince' to provide them with help, but without success for he said that even the very next islanders [of Sai] were his enemies and he would not trust 'either us or his animals with the Mameluks at Dongola.'⁵⁹ Moreover, 'should we persist in going forward to the upper country we should find 'our graves were already dug for us'.⁶⁰

Through Bankes' absolute refusal to relinquish the idea of seeing Sai island ('Mr Bankes had caught sight of a small sail in that direction... and was bent on throwing himself on board...')⁶¹ they were finally allowed, after payment, to travel by horse to view the ruins of Sai island from the bank. Ricci may well have believed, as he later wrote, that they were looking at the unobtainable ruins of Meroë, but Hyde wrote more prosaically, 'the ruins are supposed to be a work of the Sultan Selim 2nd' and there was 'no vestige visible of remote antiquity'.⁶² They lingered there, hoping a boat might pass to take them onward, but were eventually obliged to return to Amara. On Saturday 13 March 1819 Hyde wrote, 'Returned towards Egypt from this date'. Tantalisingly, at Amara, 'the cachif and his people without the name being mentioned to them spoke of Meroe as a place with many interesting remains'. They even met a camel driver 'who pretends to have resided

⁵⁶ D'Athanasi 1836, 45.

⁵⁷ D'Athanasi 1836, 45.

⁵⁸ No doubt his stock was still plentiful at this stage. At the end of this same journey, at Thebes on 5 July 1819, there still remained '4 bottles of Brandy d'Anisette, 2 bottles of Rum, 6 bottles of Hermitage and 5 bottles of Claret'. Hyde Mss.

⁵⁹ Finati 1830, 328-32.

⁶⁰ John Hyde Mss, 126.

⁶¹ Finati 1830, 333.

⁶² John Hyde Mss, 126.

there fourteen years, he spoke of it as an Island two days journey in length formed by the junction of two rivers'.⁶³

The Casheff's son, having earlier promised them camels if they would return north, now reneged even on this offer. They accordingly then dispensed with any baggage which was not absolutely necessary and which could be carried by their single remaining ass, and set off on foot. 'Dr. Ricci pronounced it, quite impossible, that Mr Hyde could have strength to walk the journey; therefore, with considerable delay and difficulty a single hired camel was found for him, which served also to furnish now and then an occasional ride to one or other of our number, perched up behind.'⁶⁴

Having set off on foot for Mograka on 13 March 1819, they reached Dal island on 14 March and stopped for the night opposite the island of Kulb.

Finati reports that they now became bandits by necessity; stealing any unladen transport animals they met with which were refused to their hire, although paying for them later, and by this means managed to accumulate some five or six animals. By 15 March they had obtained four camels, so Hyde reports that they were now 'all' mounted for the tiring journey to Semna on 17 March. When they chanced on the leader of those Abades who had been responsible for all their difficulties, they cheerfully revenged themselves by giving him a good beating, 'even the sick man, Mr. Hyde, sliding off from his tall beast to take his full share in this administration of summary justice'.⁶⁵

'Hussein Cachief' of Wadi Halfa was in temporary residence at Sarras, near Semna, and, perhaps embarrassed by his son's behaviour, furnished them with a good dinner of 'boiled or stewed meat with dates', described by Finati as 'feasting us with milk and mutton, and entertaining us with the loud music of kettledrums'.⁶⁶ They reached the island of 'Omki' on 19 March 1819, which with its neighbouring island of 'Dahby' [Dabnarti] lay opposite 'Morghezy' [Mirgissa]. Both islands were large and the Nile was about two miles across at this point. Shortly after this they descended into the plain and reached their boats at Wadi Halfa.⁶⁷ They had been travelling on the eastern bank, and had found nothing of interest in the way of Egyptian remains, excepting some pillars at Amara and a small temple opposite Semna. Though all were disappointed, Finati noted that it might well have been dangerous for them to have continued their journey further up-country since there was already talk of an expedition against the Mameluks.

They now spent 20-23 March 1819 examining the excavations at Wadi Halfa which 'had been carried on in our absence by Antonio da Costa.'⁶⁸

⁶³ John Hyde Mss, 131.

⁶⁴ Finati 1830, 334-5.

⁶⁵ Finati 1830, 336-8.

⁶⁶ John Hyde Mss, 18 March 1819, and Finati 1830, 339.

⁶⁷ John Hyde Mss, 140.

⁶⁸ Finati 1830, 340.

On 21 March John Fuller, travelling with Mr Foscett, and Nathaniel Pearce arrived at Wadi Halfa on his journey up-river. Fuller had left his travelling companion the Rev Mr Jowett⁶⁹ with the Rev Mr Connor at Aswan on March 7 1819 to await the imminent arrival there of Salt. Three days later Fuller, continuing his journey, had arrived opposite the temple of Kalabsha 'and saw some tents pitched near it... Mr Salt, though labouring under severe indisposition, received me with great politeness' and was able to offer him some useful information for his journey. Fuller had been overtaken on the river by Mr Foscett's eight-oared cangia which then towed him up to Abu Simbel. When they arrived at Wadi Halfa they 'found there a little flotilla of boats belonging to Mr. Bankes, Mr. Beechey, and Mr. Hyde, who had just returned from an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate... above the second Cataract'. After having 'passed a very pleasant evening in company with these gentlemen, and learned the particulars of their adventure', the account he heard of their robbery and their failure to reach further into Nubia 'caused me to lay aside all intention of making a similar attempt'.

Finati resumes his narrative at Maharrika, while Hyde's journal dates all the stops on his own journey back to Thebes. Perhaps he parted from the others, as he often now uses the first person singular, and has sufficient time to give ample descriptions of the sites he visits and plans of the monuments. None of his companions are mentioned, although he quotes Bankes' opinions of the monuments. Bankes speaks of thirty days spent at Philae on their return (see below) while Hyde is only there for twelve. The style of the return section of Hyde's journal, a fair copy of earlier notes and extensively sprinkled with quotations, largely from Norden, Legh and the odd Classical author, differs from the earlier part. The emphasis is entirely on the description and groundplans of the ancient sites, all other local colour is now missing, with nothing much on the topography or the inhabitants.

On 24 March Hyde is at Faras and on 26 March 1819 arrived at Abu Simbel where he remained until 2 April 1819 when he visited Ibrim and 'took a view of the numerous sepulchral grottos situated in the rock immediately under the town.' He visited Derr, then on 5 April 1819 left for Amada. Here he notes that he did not have the opportunity to take measurements as they left before sunset. Since Bankes had already spent four and a half days there on the outward journey, it seems possible that they are still all together at this point but that Bankes does not wish to stop here again. If Hyde were travelling alone he could surely have remained longer if he had wished to. He spent 6-10 March 1819 at Sebuia but again says he did not have the opportunity of taking measurements, so perhaps the time element was not the problem. He moved on to Maharraqa, where Finati tells us that Bankes now made the decision to remove the granite platform there to use as a base for

⁶⁹ Fuller had met Jowett, an agent of the Missionary and Bible Societies, at Alexandria in January 1819 and they travelled together to Cairo. They had met Pearce, a wild-looking individual who had just returned from a fourteen-year stay in Abyssinia, at Salt's house in his absence.

his obelisk. The stones were later removed by Linant in 1822 and brought to Kingston Hall in 1829.

Hyde reached Qurta on 11 April, and then went on to Dakka where he spent five days. After Gerf Hussein, he stopped at Dendur, arriving at Kalabsha on 18 April, where he remained for ten days before visiting Tafa and Qertassi, crossing the river on 30 April 1819 to inspect Gamli, make a cursory inspection of Dabod, and later that evening arriving at Philae.⁷⁰ He notes that the chapel in front of the second pylon which fronts the main temple 'is a small temple which Mr B thinks is the most antient in the whole Island' and notes that 'much of this rubbish has been removed by Mr B who has intirely cleared out the area of this beautiful little Sanctuary'. He also mentions Bankes' removal of the obelisk, and copies out all the visitors' graffiti which he found at the temple, many of which were made in the year of his own journey.

He left on 13 May 1819 for Aswan where he stayed until 21 May 1819, then proceeded via Kom Ombo (23 May), Esna (30 May), and 'Asfoun' (2 June), reaching Thebes on Saturday 5 June 1819. On 8 June he made 'my first visit to Carnac and spent the day with the french and prussian artists Mr Huyot & Mr Gow [Gau]'.

When he reached Luxor, Bankes wrote to Salt to tell him about the discoveries they had made on their return after Salt's departure. It is a rough draft, written 11 June 1819 and at the top, partially crossed out, he has roughly scrawled some names. These may be a memorandum of things to do since it looks as if he has written: 'Dr - Garden [perhaps the recording of the tomb scene of the garden plan?], 'Belzoni', 'Buckingham - write Constantinople[?]' ⁷¹, 'Mr. Hyde', 'Mr. Sloman' [possibly the Rev. Mr Slowman, mentioned in Belzoni 1822, II, 171, as on his way to the Second Cataract at this time], 'Mr. Eliot & Son' [possibly this might read 'Mr Eliot & Gow' and refer to Huyot and Gau], and 'Frediani'. Bankes hopes that Salt's health had improved. He has brought him back a Nubian ostrich for his garden which however should not be trusted among his shrubs, 'being a mortal enemy to blossoms of all sorts... this is the only inhabitant of our cangia that you are unacquainted with'. Bankes says he had suffered a fever and weakness (similar to that which he had experienced at Jaffa) after the great heat and exertions of drawing the battle scene at Abu Simbel, which he had managed to illuminate. Mr Beechey had had the kindness to take over the architectural work himself so that their work there could be completed. Bankes now believes Maharraka rather than Derr, as Burkhardt thought, to be Hierosycaminos, and considers he has now made out most of the sites on the [Antonine] 'Itinerary'. He had also made 'a very curious discovery' of a long verse inscription at Kalabsha which was an acrostic. They had spent thirty days at Philae, clearing out parts of the temple and recording, and had 'rescued' Greek inscriptions which

⁷⁰ Bankes was 3.8 km south of Dabod on 2 May, according to Bankes Album I, 39.

⁷¹ On the following day, June 12 1819, Bankes wrote an acrimonious letter to Bombay, retracting his earlier recommendation, and demanding that patronage of Buckingham be revoked.

helped him to date part of the buildings, but his 'best discovery' there was 'three more chambers and a staircase leading to them in the principal temple'. Their most 'satisfactory' discovery was below the cataract; Greek inscriptions from the portico of the 'little temple near Esna'. From these inscriptions Bankes hypothesised on the dates of the Zodiacs at Esna and Dendera. Bankes' correspondence contains an unsigned statement which is a refutation of his theory that 'the zodiac of Esne is of the time of Antonius Pius and consequently later than the zodiac of Dendera...'⁷²

On 16 June 1819, Hyde writes from Thebes, 'I this day crossed over the river to the western side to dine with Messrs B. B. & R [Bankes, Beechey and Ricci?] upon a fine crocodile which an Arab [?] had caught, - in taste and appearance the flesh of this reptile greatly resembled veal - the fat had however a somewhat more fishy taste.'

Two days later there was a funeral to attend. 'Count Maloze died this day about noon, in the hut of Mr Lobelau [Lebolo], and was decently intired at Medinet Abu, the body previously to its being committed to the grave was placed in a mummy-case. The Coptic priest performed the service.'⁷³ On 21 June 1819 'the Arabs this day brought to Mr Bankes 2 crocodile Eggs, they were not much larger than duck's Eggs, but the skin was as rough and nearly as thick as the skin of an Ostriches Egg - the colour was a pure white, like that of a common Hen's Egg - one of these eggs when broken was found to contain an imperfectly formed crocodile'.⁷⁴ From Hyde's original manuscript⁷⁵ we learn that he dined with Lebolo at Gurna, and 'visited the tombs with Dr. R and afterwards dined with Mr Bankes.' The temperature, which he noted every day was about 110°. ⁷⁶ Thursday 24 June, 'Mr Bankes and his party left Thebes this day for Dendera'. On Sunday 27 June, Huyot and Gau dined with him on board his cangia, and on 5 July 'Mr Linon [Linant] arrived from 'Raramoun' (perhaps Beni Hasan). Hyde visited a mummy-pit at Gurna and then 'In company with Mr Gow [Gau] and Mr Huyot I this day [16 July] paid my last visit to the Royal Tombs'. He noted that tomb N° 5 'contains a large granite sarcophagus in the finely proportioned saloon so greatly admired by Mr B [Bankes]'.⁷⁷ On 18 July he dined with Mr R[ifaud?] and supped with Mr Lebolo.

Hyde left Thebes for Coptos on 19 July 1819 after a stay there of forty-four days. He was at Dendera on 24 July 1819 'in company with Messrs Huyot, Gow [Gau], & LaChaise[?]' and after various stops made his way back to Cairo, arriving there on 5 August 1819. Unlike Bankes he did not make a detour to the Fayoum.

⁷² HJ 1/124, dated 20 January 1820.

⁷³ John Hyde Mss, 18 June 1819.

⁷⁴ John Hyde Mss, 21 June 1819.

⁷⁵ (Rather than the fair copy), John Hyde Mss 42,103.

⁷⁶ In a Bankes Album format loose sheet (Dorset County Archive uncatalogued Egypt box) Bankes noted a temperature of 115° which was 'hot enough... to break a glass vessel used by the Dr. as a mortar for grinding his medicines.'

⁷⁷ Interestingly, Hyde lists in his journal and describes, giving their compass orientations, the seventeen tombs, some royal, some private, which were open at this time.

Finati writes that it was at Thebes that Bankes 'was successful in detaching the stucco from one of the most interesting and best preserved of the lesser tombs, so as to be enabled to send several groups to England, and especially a large one of musicians, with harps and other instruments, as fresh as when first painted'.⁷⁸ These pieces are now in the Bankes collection at Kingston Lacy. Possibly other small pieces in the collection may have been purchased in Thebes at this time. Fuller who was in Thebes two months earlier noted that 'a great number of antiquities were brought to me by the Fellahs for sale, but I was not fortunate enough to meet with anything of much value'. He believed that when a new tomb or pit was found 'all that is most valuable is immediately bought up by the agents of the European collectors at Cairo or Alexandria'.⁷⁹

At El Araba Medfoun (Abydos) Bankes discovered the wall containing a king-list, his 'tablet of Abydos' containing Pharaonic cartouches with the names of kings in the order of their reign. He did not remove it but took a complete copy; 'nothing that he found seemed to give him more pleasure, or to excite more interest' than this.⁸⁰

D'Athanasi gives us the following version of the return journey: 'Accordingly having given up the notion of this journey to Dongola, we continued our work homeward, stopping a short time amongst the ruins and ancient temples by the way, we reached Ben Isuaf [Beni Suef], through which we passed on to the river named Fium [the Bahr Yusuf?]. On arriving at this river we went to see the Lake Birket Haroun, and the temple adjacent, and then returned by land to Cairo, where we found Mr. Salt; and in a short time afterwards we all proceeded to Alexandria'.⁸¹

Belzoni writes to Bankes, 22 August 1819, from Alexandria, 'Your journey in to the Faium no doubt has been productive of many good Discoveries and Observations. I am sorry you missed the town of Baccus on the North side of the lake a little on the East of the island[?] and about two miles inland - it is Named Deney[?] by the Arabs'.⁸²

On his return journey Bankes discovered that in some places, for example at Philae, Kalabshe and Esna, 'by placing himself in a side light, he could trace the indication of letters cut in the surface of the stone under the stucco, which induced him to scrape this away, and to bring out the inscriptions, which proved to be Greek'. Bankes comments that

⁷⁸ Finati 1830, 343.

⁷⁹ Fuller 1829, 230.

⁸⁰ Finati 1830, 343.

⁸¹ D'Athanasi 1836, 49.

⁸² From Belzoni's description this would appear to be Dimai (Soknopaiou Nesos), north of the lake, rather than the site with the Classical name of Bacchias which lies to the north-east of the lake. He describes his finding the 'Greek town' which 'cannot be any other than the city of Bacchus' in Belzoni 1822, II, 158. The letter to Bankes begins by his being 'not a little mortified' to find Bankes denying he has found the Temple of Jupiter Ammon; 'I see that such discoveries are preserved for Travelers of high knowledge and Capacity...' He also refers to the 'unpleasant affair of Carnak', presumably the attack made on him at Thebes (Belzoni 1822, II, 124ff) which he considered to have been prompted by the enemy camp over his successful removal of the disputed Philae obelisk.

the same contrivance was used by the architect Sostratus on the Pharos at Alexandria, and also that some of the texts they had discovered were as late as the reign of Commodus.⁸³

Fuller found Salt reinstalled at Cairo when he arrived back at the consulate on 29 March 1819. Because of an outbreak of the 'plague', Salt placed them in a 'detached apartment' for two or three days quarantine before they were permitted to join 'the rest of the party which had sought refuge on the consulate. It consisted of my old companion Mr Jowett, the Baron Sack a Prussian, and two English gentlemen (Mr Stevenson, and Dr Armstrong), who were on their way from Bombay to England'. They were all confined to the consulate and strict procedures were observed. Bread, iron, and wood were allowed in, but no meat or other animal substances. Coins were washed, and letters, books and papers purged by smoke. If it was necessary to sign papers, a plate of glass was placed between the paper and the writer's hand. Cats were slaughtered and 'even the flies are objects of alarm'.

Fuller, Jowett, and Pearce left on 1 June 1819 heading for Jerusalem, but were forced to return only three days later having been robbed *en route* of everything they had of value. However, their re-entry into quarantine at the consulate was enlivened by their having 'a house with spacious and cool apartments, a shady garden arranged in the English style, a library well stored with books, an endless variety of drawings and sketches [presumably Salt's own collection which he allowed visitors to browse through] a large collection of Egyptian antiquities; and though last, not least in our esteem, an excellent billiard table'.

'Soon after the expiration of quarantine, our domestic party was increased by the welcome arrival of Mr. W. Bankes and Mr. Beechey from Upper Egypt; and it was occasionally enlivened by Belzoni'. Hyde dined with Salt on 7 August and met Bankes, Beechey, Ricci, and Sack there.⁸⁴ The heat was intense; outside up to 110 °, and 84° inside. They rose at 4 am and rode for an hour or two before sunrise, dined at mid-day, then slept or rested for two to three hours. After this they 'walked out' or paid visits, supped after sunset and went to bed about midnight. No doubt much helpful advice was on hand from the more experienced travellers; Fuller, for example, had a guide recommended to him by Bankes for his forthcoming visit to Jerash.

'It was about this time that an ostrich belonging to an English gentleman⁸⁵ arrived at Cairo from Upper Egypt...' They were interested to discover the bird's fondness for eating iron, but saddened to find that, indulged in this habit by the servants, it soon died, having ingested knives, blades and buttons. Perhaps at least Salt's shrubbery was spared as a result.⁸⁶

⁸³ Finati 1830, 341-2.

⁸⁴ John Hyde Mss 42,103.

⁸⁵ Bankes. See his letter from Thebes, 11 June 1819, above.

⁸⁶ All the Cairo references here from Fuller, 235-49.

Hyde dined at the consulate with Bankes, Beechey and Linant on 1 September, and Bankes gave him a commission to make an unspecified purchase from the monks at Mount Sinai; perhaps another book. The following day Hyde called to say goodbye to Bankes. He later learned that Bankes and Beechey had sailed on the day that Mr Salt left Alexandria.⁸⁷

It was after Ramadan, and perhaps 'induced... to remain longer than he would have otherwise done' by the conversation of Mr Pearce,⁸⁸ that Bankes, accompanied by Beechey, left for Alexandria and Trieste.⁸⁹ Bankes did not return home immediately but continued his travels in Italy. His Eastern travels may have now come to an end, but his involvement and interest in ancient Egyptian matters had not.

It is evident from Ricci's diary and the amount of work he alone accomplished, in addition to the huge portfolio which resulted from the journey, that Salt's joking account of how hard they worked on the second journey can be taken seriously; 'I have, in my last journey, added much to my collection of drawings, having fagged hard...' In another letter he said:

'The first part of my journey was most delightful, the party consisting only of very *pleasant and agreeable people*: Mr. Bankes, a traveller who has much distinguished himself by his researches in Syria; Baron Sack, an old Prussian nobleman, fond of natural history; Mr. Beechey; Mr. Ricci, a young surgeon; Mr. Linant, an artist whom I had engaged to accompany me, and *myself*. Mr. Bankes is one of the most delightful companions I ever met with, high-bred, well informed, and possessing an inexhaustible fund of humour; the Baron Sack full of little anecdotes... of armadilloes, flamingoes, field mice, and monstrous snakes, which he had collected in the course of a long residence at Surinam; withall very credulous, and permitting himself to have a goose's egg foisted upon him for a crocodile's, yet infinitely amusing and *good-humoured*; the third, a traveller [himself], still fond of gibes and merriment, and now and then when conversation slacked, introducing an *Abyssinian* story to while away the hour; while the *secondary* planets were content to shine in their respective spheres, and looked up with *all due* deference to the more *brilliant luminaries*. All but the baron, who was chiefly engaged in killing frogs, snakes, beetles, and such like game, were enthusiastically fond of the arts, and really vied with each other who should produce the best sketches; being generally occupied *hard at it*... from nine o'clock in the morning till dark'.⁹⁰

Salt wrote to William Hamilton, 4 May 1819, in a more serious vein, giving him news of some of the important discoveries they had made. He lists the plan of a garden at

⁸⁷ John Hyde Mss 42,103.

⁸⁸ A copy of Pearce's will, made in Alexandria 31 July 1820, is found in his own publication: Pearce 1831, 348. He leaves his papers to Salt, and among other bequests: 'In case of skins or horns, which belong to me, arrive in safety from Abyssinia, I leave entirely to William John Bankes Esq.,....'

⁸⁹ Finani 1830, 344.

⁹⁰ Halls 1834, II, 133-4.

Thebes, Bankes' recognition of a 'camp' on the Battle of Qadesh wall at Abu Simbel, and the representation of a bat at Beni Hasan, and the historical Greek inscriptions from Kalabsha and Abu Simbel, as well as the opening of the temple at es-Sebua.⁹¹

Although Bankes made only one botanical drawing, his Album descriptions show his interest in the plant species he observed, and he and Salt made a collection of plants in Nubia, which Salt then sent back to England.⁹²

Perhaps as a post-script to Bankes' journey, the 'shadowing' journey of F.C. Gau may be added. It seems hard to find any other traveller who fits the bill better than Gau for Finati's derisive description of the 'German artist' who was following close behind them and taking advantage of their endeavours both in excavating and in the discovery of inscriptions. Gau's early publication date, 1822, his attachment to Drovetti's camp, and his falling-out with Sack, in whose service he had arrived in Egypt from Rome, would also have put him in the line of fire as far as Bankes was concerned.

On his outward journey, Gau arrived in Thebes just five days after Bankes' departure, and he then travelled as far as Wadi Halfa. He was back in Thebes a few weeks before Bankes and they were all there at the same time; Gau apparently with Huyot. The impression given by Gau in his narrative is that he was travelling alone with various servants, but as we have seen from the invisibility of D'Athanasi in Finati's narrative, it is possible that this was not the case.⁹³ An interesting question to determine would be at what point Gau received advice from Huyot on the position of the inscriptions found by Bankes on the leg of the Abu Simbel colossus. Gau says; 'Malgré les fouilles considérable que j'ai fait exécuter, je n'ai pas pu découvrir l'inscription que M. Bankes a prise sur un des colosses du grand temple d'Aboussamboul, et dont M. Huyot m'avait marqué la place.' We only know they were together at Thebes in June and July, and appear to have travelled back together from there.

Gau's account gives few dates but it seems that Gau was often a bare few days behind Bankes' party and aware of their presence and the kind of work that they were doing.

Gau arrived in Cairo on 12 September 1818, and left on 20 October 1818. After visiting other sites *en route* he was at Dendera on 18 November. He arrived at Thebes, where he met Drovetti, on 21 November, and remained there some time.⁹⁴ He therefore just missed Bankes' party who had left Thebes on 16 November. Gau describes himself as backed by Drovetti to whom he owed the success of his enterprise, and their subsequent correspondence shows that Gau remained firmly grateful and loyal to him. (Gau had no

⁹¹ From letters to Halls and to Hamilton, Halls 1834, II, 113-18.

⁹² Halls 1834, II, 165.

⁹³ Gau refers to 'mes compagnons' at Aswan on his return. Gau 1822, 17.

money when he began his journey, and probably little information about Egypt and Nubia beyond what he may have read. He says his decision to visit Nubia was only made at Thebes, and Drovetti may have advised him.) Gau's crew consisted of a boatman, four Arab sailors, a Mameluk, formerly in the French army, as interpreter and a young Hungarian servant. They were armed, and took on a Nubian interpreter at the First Cataract. The crew were not keen to enter unknown territory and there was almost a mutiny after they passed Abu Simbel (they did not stop) and then again at Faras, but Gau managed to persuade them to continue on to the Second Cataract.

Gau's objects were similar to Bankes' if of a less comprehensive scope. He aimed to make a visual record of the monuments of Nubia specifically, since he recognised that there was already a large body of work covering the area above the First Cataract. 'La tâche qu'il importait de remplir, après celle qui s'imposa et que termina la commission d'Egypte, c'était la réunion complète des monumens qui existent en Nubie, et qui forment une suite historique des modèles de l'architecture égyptienne de toutes les époques.' As an author he describes himself as 'F.C. Gau, Architecte', and he does not attempt more than general comments on the inscriptions he has copied, leaving the study of them to an expert. He tells us that all his drawings were made on the return journey.

Following about a month after Bankes, Gau was at Dabod on 24 January 1819 and reached Qertassi the following day on 25 January 1819; where Bankes had been on 18 December 1818. Gau was at 'Guirché' on 29 January 1819; Bankes had been at Gerf Hussein on 30 December 1818.⁹⁵

Gau passed by Abu Simbel on the outward journey but says he achieved little at this site. On his return he found that the tiny entrance gap (opened up earlier by Bankes) necessitated crawling in on his stomach, and the continual movement of the sand might close it up again at any moment. The naturally shifting sands, or else Bankes' deliberate action, had once more hidden the famous Greek inscription, and the heat was intense. He could only manage a few hours a day inside and that exhausted him. He was also unable to get sufficient light into the temple for drawing. We know that Bankes employed his entire team there in appalling conditions, rigging up a lighting system, and using ladders. Gau acknowledges in print Huyot's generosity in supplying him with his own drawings of Abu Simbel (Gau's pl. 57) to use in his publication.

Gau reached the Second Cataract on 12 February 1819, while Bankes arrived at Wadi Halfa on 21 February 1819 on his outward journey. Gau excuses himself from not continuing further since it was well-known that there were few important monuments

⁹⁴ Gau tells us that he was at Thebes 32 days after leaving Cairo, and spent some time there, Gau 1822, 5. He also says he was in Thebes in December 1818, Gau 1822, 8.

⁹⁵ Gau 1822, 6. Gau says he was at 'Guirché' five days after leaving the cataracts so this is presumably the date.

beyond this point, everything belonging to what he considered the decadent period of Egyptian art.

On his return journey, Gau drew the remains at Wadi Halfa and other sites. At Sebuia, Gau tells us that he carried out some excavations which concern the external areas of the approach to the temple. He does not describe any internal clearance but provides detailed coloured plates of the interior reliefs of the Sanctuary which had only just been uncovered by the work carried out there by Bankes on 8 January 1819. If his work was facilitated by this previous clearance, it is not acknowledged. Near 'Kessé' there was some trouble with the local inhabitants over the purchase of a sheep. Gau was obliged to threaten them with firearms and to keep a guard at Dakka, the next site.

At Kalabsha, like other travellers, he was obliged by hostile villagers to pay before being allowed to enter the temple. Here, there were rumours that an English army had arrived at 'Coseir' and there would be a war. This story had been strengthened a few days before his arrival by the sudden passage of the Consul (Salt) back to Cairo. With another mutiny imminent among his servants, Gau sent two of them to Aswan to discover what was happening. They returned on the fourth day with the welcome news that the rumour was merely due to the arrival at Cairo of an English general peacefully returning from India. Salt had only rushed back to welcome him. (The actual reason for Salt's return had been his illness.) Gau celebrated Easter at Kalabsha.

In his guise of an irritating shadow as much as for the parallel moment in time of his very fine record, Gau perhaps deserves his place in the story of Bankes' second journey.

THE MEROE EXPEDITION 1821-1822

Linant and Ricci

‘There are two young men of great talents Mr Linant & Mr Ricci gone up at Mr Bankes’ expense from whom we may expect most accurate views of everything in the way of antiquity if Mr Bankes *can only be persuaded to publish them.*’⁹⁶

Although himself prevented from reaching Meroë, Bankes arranged that, following his own departure from Egypt in the Autumn of 1819, Linant should be employed to make the journey on his behalf. He was to map the course of the river and record all the ancient sites. Salt was left in charge of the arrangements, and in a series of letters kept Bankes up-to-date with events. Much to Bankes’ annoyance, Linant did not set off immediately for Nubia, but during the following year visited and recorded the Siwa Oasis, and then Sinai. Bankes’ displeasure at this delay was even extended into print. Finati’s narrative relates explicitly that Linant was left ‘with a salary, upon condition of his taking the very earliest opportunity of following up the discoveries upon the Nile to the southward, with a view especially to fixing the site and examining the remains of Meroë. How far the injunction had been punctually complied with, of setting out the soonest that circumstances should permit, it is not my place to inquire, but full twelve months had elapsed before I heard of any preparation at all for the journey’. Bankes’ tart footnote adds: ‘I am as much at a loss upon this point as the author can be, since the departure of the Egyptian army... for the expedition which was to open the upper country, took place in the autumn of 1820, and Monsieur Cailliaud and Monsieur Jomard seem to have gone up at that time...’⁹⁷

Linant eventually left Cairo on 15 June 1821 with Ricci and accompanied by Finati as their dragoman. He returned on 24 July 1822. The Nubian section of his journey appeared in Shinnie 1958, while the earlier and later parts have been published in Vercoutter 1963 and 1964. Finati also covers the journey in his narrative, giving some local colour but adding little on the archaeological side. Unlike Bankes, whose journey has had to be pieced together from several sources, Linant’s own journal gives a full account of his travels, including some very lively and delightful descriptions of the nature of the country. Relevant sections of the very detailed descriptions of his archaeological work and recording will be found in the catalogue Introductions for each site. Ricci contributed to the portfolio as far as Gebel Barkal, but further south Linant was, as far as the portfolio is concerned, on his own.

⁹⁶ Letter from Salt to Hamilton, 10 October 1821, HJ 1/160.

⁹⁷ Finati 1830, 355-6. For a detailed description of the military operations of Ismail’s campaign see Crawford 1951, chapters XXVIII-XXXII. The accounts of Cailliaud, Linant, and English were used in compiling this history.

While Cailliaud and Letorzec travelled in part with Ismael Pasha's army as it moved south to subdue the area up to Sennar, Linant's party of five travelled in the army's wake. As a result they frequently found the villages denuded of supplies and were forced to draw illicitly on the reserves left in depots for the use of the army.⁹⁸

Linant expressly states in his journal that Ricci, his companion, was not employed by Bankes to join him. The two quarrelled from the very beginning of their journey together. According to Linant, Ricci was frequently in a bad mood and sulked, considering himself slighted and refusing to speak to him. This was not the ideal companion for a gruelling trip into dangerous, little-known regions during a war. After one such row, on 11 November 1821 at Shendi, Ricci threatened to leave, announcing that only lack of money and provisions had prevented him doing so before. When he asked Linant what he should do, Linant replied; 'Vous savez bien Docteur, que si vous êtes venu avec moi, c'est seulement par Monsieur Salt qui l'a voulu absolument et contre ma volonté, puisque je n'étais autorisé en aucune manière par Monsieur Bankes à vous prendre avec moi, d'autant plus que vous aviez d'autres travaux à faire pour lui.'⁹⁹ Linant refused to advise him, saying only that ultimately he would have to explain his conduct to Salt and Bankes. Ricci complained that he did wish to be regarded as a servant and that Linant's people regarded him thus, which Linant denied. 'Cela n'était pas. Tout le monde savait qu'il était mon égal et mon ami et il était comme moi. Mais cela a toujours été les idées qu'il se forgeait, non seulement avec moi mais avec tout le monde.'¹⁰⁰

Salt's letters explain why he insisted, without Bankes' instructions or permission, on the doctor Ricci accompanying Linant. Bankes evidently remained displeased. Salt writes, 'I am sorry that you continue to regret that Ricci was sent in to Nubia but I think if you will consider the matter you will be satisfied that all was for the best. When Linant left us his health was in such a weak state that I felt afraid to trust him alone as a relapse would probably have proved fatal, and the Doctor's presence on that account was very desirable. Besides it had come to my knowledge that very advantageous proposals had been made by Baron Minutoli to Ricci to undertake this voyage on his account & though Ricci said nothing of this to me I saw such a resolution on his part to make the voyage that I felt assured if I did not let him go with Linant he would go on his own. Besides, to tell you the truth, as Linant had already become somewhat extravagant in his expenses, according to my way of thinking, I judged that Ricci, from the instructions I gave him, would be rather a check upon him than an additional expense, as was in fact the case. The money I

⁹⁸ Finati 1830, 359-361. Cailliaud also complained of the difficulties in obtaining provisions, their meagre diet and reliance on game, and the army's practice of setting fire to the grain-fields.

⁹⁹ Shinnie 1958, 77.

¹⁰⁰ This view does seem to be supported by other incidents in Ricci's life. Nuances of social class are more difficult for us to follow. As Salt wrote to Pearce, when inviting him to Egypt, 'You must not expect to be a *gentleman*; but I can insure you a comfortable maintenance with *little* work, such as looking after my garden or collecting antiques...' Halls 1834, II, 106.

advanced to the Doctor for this trip was little and I made no engagement for his salary, explaining to him most clearly that I had no authority from you to send him up. Thus, at little expense in fact to you, I insured all he could do in this voyage for you. As it turned out, the voyage made his fortune - he saved Ibrahim Pasha's life & the Father together with Ibrahim Pasha presented him as a recompense with the sum of eight thousand dollars, with which he is now gone to Europe. This sum was in hard cash. Before he went he gave up to me, for you, all his sketches made in Nubia which were very interesting as they express very correctly the different character of the sculpture found there from any existing in Egypt which with all Linant's talents he was not so capable of doing. These sketches I shall make up in a small case and send by the first safe conveyance'.¹⁰¹

This explains why Salt's list of 8 February 1823 contains only Linant's drawings from this journey, together with Ricci's drawings of Sinai; Ricci's work was sent back earlier. Linant himself never records any instance of Ricci making drawings on their journey, although he mentions his medical activities. However, Ricci did contribute to the portfolio.

On Linant's return in 1822, Salt wrote to Banks regarding Ricci's work on the journey, 'When you receive the beautiful drawings made by the latter of all the hieroglyphic monuments they met with, which I have in hand, you will not be sorry that I sent him up as it will make your work very complete'. Linant had been 'a little extravagant' but 'when the whole comes to be laid before you - you will have great reason to be satisfied'.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ HJ 1/187, 14 December 1822.

¹⁰² HJ 1/183, 22 September 1822.

THE JOURNEY BETWEEN GEBEL BARKAL AND MEROE

Ricci, Linant, and Cailliaud

The drawings of Meroë were made six months after Linant's visit to Gebel Barkal. During that time Linant was travelling around the area between Shendi and Sennar, and into the country south of Sennar.

Ricci finally abandoned Linant on 7 November 1821, after yet another argument, at Damer, just south of the confluence of the Nile and Atbara. He returned briefly a few days later but then left once again and went on alone to Sennar. They were to be reconciled later when they met near 'Sirvi'¹⁰³, but after Damer they no longer travelled together. Ricci was taken on by Ibrahim Pasha as his physician and returned to Cairo with him when he was taken ill with dysentery. The drawings of Meroë, Musawwarat, and Naqa, are therefore by Linant alone.¹⁰⁴

Linant's journal presents a vivid picture of these months of travel along the Nile between Gebel Barkal and the sites which lay south of the junction with the Atbara. His principal work at this time was exploring and mapping the river and surrounding areas, and he refers to taking observations and correcting errors in existing maps.

The finished journal he left with Bankes appears to have been ready for publication. The archaeological descriptions are tempered with details of the life and customs of the local people, the wildlife, and the countryside. He encountered villagers and local sheikhs, caravanners, European adventurers, and army forces; all against a background of heightened tension and dangerous outbreaks of violence, due to Ibrahim Pasha's military campaign. In contrast to the journals of Cailliaud or English, Linant seems more concerned with how the conditions affect his travels than with any serious account of military matters.

Linant travelled south from Damer to Shendi (passing and noting without recognising the site of Meroë on 9 November 1821, but not stopping for a proper examination) and then on further south to Sennar (passing Naqa on 29 November). At Sennar, Ibrahim's camp, where Linant stayed from 13-18 December, he gives an interesting description of the group of Europeans in the Pasha's employment. These included Linant's former companion on the journey to Siwa, Frediani, who was suffering from a nervous breakdown. Linant visited him, offering both sympathy and practical help.

Linant left Sennar by boat to meet Ibrahim Pasha and Ricci on the Nile at 'Sirvi' on 25 December 1821 in Fazogli, the kingdom which lay south of the Kingdom of Sennar. He then returned to Sennar for a few days before continuing down the river back to Shendi where he stayed from 14 January to 20 February 1822. From Shendi he made visits to

¹⁰³ Shinnie 1958, 97, note 1, suggests 'Sereiwa'.

¹⁰⁴ Although there was a mutual exchange of drawings between Cailliaud and Linant to make up deficiencies in their individual portfolios.

Musawwarat and Naqa, arriving at Meroë on 25 March 1822 to examine and record it in detail. After this he resumed a homeward course to Cairo.

Linant encountered Frédéric Cailliaud at Shendi on 14 March 1822. Cailliaud left there on 23 March to visit the ruins at Naqa and Musawwarat, 'où j'avais été plusieurs jours avant' as Linant pointedly records. They met up again on 7 April at Damer, Cailliaud's companion Letorzec having gone ahead to Gebel Barkal to await him there. From Damer, Linant and Cailliaud travelled together back to Gebel Barkal; so engrossed in conversation on their first day of travel that they missed their road. Caught in a Khamsin wind-storm on 14 April they took refuge in a village where they were not well received. Linant admits to being apprehensive, but 'Monsieur Cailliaud paraissait très craintif, ce qui me fit rire'. Despite, the element of rivalry between them, responsible for Linant's continuous stream of snide and unpleasant remarks, mutual need forced them to exchange some drawings to fill gaps in their respective portfolios on 4 May, before Linant left Gebel Barkal and they parted. Linant took a copy of 'quelques figures que je n'avais pas dessiné à Hardan [Naqa]' while Cailliaud requested a copy of the drawing of a column at Musawwarat. (According to Linant, Cailliaud apparently later accused him of deliberately providing him with the wrong drawing.)

Linant carefully records that Cailliaud only knew about 'Selima' and 'Meroë', from him. Linant did not visit Selima, an oasis rumoured to have ruins, for lack of a guide, but was later told there was nothing interesting there. Cailliaud, knowing of Linant's intention to visit Selima, determined on going himself, and finding nothing there, felt that Linant had deliberately mislead him. Linant, on his part, considered that it was Cailliaud who had behaved in an underhand manner. 'Je suis fâché pour ceux qui l'ont employé que son ignorance le force à avoir recours à ce que les autres lui disent pur faire quelques découvertes.'¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Linant did not agree that Cailliaud was correct in supposing Meroë to be at 'Cabinna'.¹⁰⁶ Linant notes that they were reconciled immediately after these incidents, but in the same breath, cannot resist adding that he had to laugh seeing Cailliaud using a camera obscura (thereby implying his ineptitude as a draughtsman) to copy the same positions that Linant had taken to record Soleb.

The drawings for Cailliaud's plates of Meroë, Musawwarat and Naqa, were made at almost exactly the same time as Linant's versions. Cailliaud's record is clear, detailed, and seems to be accurate, but has suffered from the exigencies of publication. The engraving process must to some degree have altered the finished product from the original drawings, and perhaps it is at this point that a quite subtle 'Europeanising' of the relief figures occurs. The architecture is well drawn but creates an unfortunate effect of artificiality, with the architectural elements neither well related to each other nor to their background. The contrived compositions emphasise the dramatic effect of the monuments

¹⁰⁵ Shinnie 1958, 185.

rather than their natural isolation, which permeates Linant's quietly atmospheric views. Cailliaud's engravings are 'dressed' with large numbers of added figures. While the result is lively and interesting, the monuments seem sometimes to be relegated to a mere backdrop. Cailliaud travelled with the army so that many of the views are full of military movements, with groups of soldiers and natives, camels and horses, and all the bustle of camp life. Cailliaud acknowledges in one instance that his figures were added by another artist (see his pl. XLI of Meroë). Several of his views are enlivened by the figure of the artist himself, drawing at the site, or busy with surveying instruments. The highest point of drama is perhaps reached in a plate of Soleb, a temple whose haunting beauty Linant quite movingly allows to speak for itself, but where, in Cailliaud's version, our attention is attracted by a group of terrified Nubians in the foreground who rush from a bonfire at the sight of a strangely porcine hippopotamus (vol. II, pl. XI). Cailliaud himself explains his use of schematic, false hieroglyphs by his ignorance of the work of decipherment.¹⁰⁷

Hoskins was critical of Cailliaud's accuracy in his views of Meroë, pointing out the 'peculiarities' of Cailliaud's versions compared to what he himself had observed. Hoskins either used his architect Bandoni, or made his own drawings using a camera lucida. He was careful to distinguish between the former works which constituted the architectural record, and the latter, which were 'picturesque views'.¹⁰⁸ Linant's great merit lies in his comfortable ability to merge both these types of drawing.

¹⁰⁶ Cailliaud was correct.

¹⁰⁷ Cailliaud 1826, vol. 2, ch. XXX, 172.

¹⁰⁸ Hoskins 1835, 85.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

The Sites

DABOD

Introduction

‘...arrived at Debodé about 1 oclock where we met the whole of Mr. Salts Party busily engaged at the Temple...’

Charles Barry, diary, 17 December 1818.¹

The temple of Dabod is situated about 20 km south of Philae on the west bank of the Nile, in an area which had traditionally been a frontier zone between Egypt and Nubia in Pharaonic times and continued as such later between the Nubian kingdom of Meroë and Ptolemaic Egypt.

The temple, Ptolemaic with Roman additions, was begun in the third century BC by the Meroitic king Adikhalamani² who was probably the successor to Ergamenes II, a contemporary of Ptolemy IV. Adikhalamani, who is known only from this temple, constructed and decorated a chapel in which he is shown making offerings to twenty-four Egyptian deities. The temple was also embellished by other Ptolemaic kings, who inscribed a pylon³ and the two naoi (shrines),⁴ and later by the emperors Augustus and Tiberius⁵. The whole temple is decorated in the traditional Egyptian style. The original chapel was incorporated into a smaller version of the characteristic Ptolemaic temple design such as that at Dendera; a rectangular block with access to the roof and a facade having screen walls interspersed with columns. Travellers in the nineteenth century observed that the temple had remained unfinished and that, up until 1827, it contained two naoi (shrines) in its sanctuary (which had served as a repository for the image of the god). The chapel was dedicated to Isis, and Amun of Dabod was also venerated there. In terms of religious ritual, the temple was part of a processional pilgrimage route which included the temple of Philae.

Blocks bearing the cartouche of Seti II found on the site, and also re-used in the building, probably indicate the presence of an earlier construction, and the temple was apparently abandoned rather than reused in Christian times.

¹ Clayton 1984, 163.

² Also referred to by scholars as Azekheramun, or Azagraman.

³ A Greek inscription on the second pylon in the name of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II between 172 and 170 BC (quoted from Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 141). According to Weigall 1907, 57, Ptolemy VII.

⁴ Ptolemaic and Meroitic kings were known to collaborate in the construction of temples in the frontier zone. Priego and Martin Flores 1992, 14.

⁵ The forecourt was decorated by Augustus or Tiberius according to Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 141. Weigall 1907, 57, and also PM give Augustus and Tiberius.

The temple was much visited by early nineteenth-century and later travellers whose accounts provide us with the sequence of the gradual disintegration of its fabric and its pylons. This process culminated in the erosion of any remaining colours, and increasing deterioration from the rising water level resulting from the barrage at Aswan. The temple was finally rescued by the Unesco project in 1960, and after storage on the island of Elephantine its remaining blocks were reconstructed in Madrid as a recompense to Spain for her participation.⁶ Much of the stonework is now new; the reconstruction is based on the nineteenth-century records. However, the Bankes Mss do not seem to have been known or taken into account by those who have studied the temple in modern times and no mention of the Bankes Mss is found in Roeder 1911, Almagro 1971, Priego and Martin Flores 1992, or Daumas 1960, although the Bankes drawings are in part a unique record of the monument, its decoration and texts.

Although Norden was unable to leave his boat in 1737 for fear of the local inhabitants, he succeeded in drawing the two views⁷ which show that the three pylons (one of which still possessed a side tower), part of the enclosure wall, and the facade of the portico, still existed at that date. Because of the problems experienced by Norden, and the fact that the Napoleonic expedition reached no further south than Philae, there may have been no further visitors to the site until Burkhardt in 1813.⁸ He stopped there on his return journey from the south on 29 and 30 March, leaving the first exact description of the temple. Light arrived in May 1814, and published a quite careful description in 1818.⁹ Belzoni was first there in 1815, the year of Bankes' first journey, during which Finati¹⁰ makes only a passing mention of Dabod as 'The ruins at Dabod are still further down and brought us within a few hours of Philae.' On his return from opening Abu Simbel, Belzoni described the temple very briefly¹¹ and fuller details were given by Rifaud,¹² who (according to Almagro 1971, 22) visited the temple between 1805 and 1827. Irby and Mangles stopped at Dabod in August 1817.¹³ No traveller seems to have seen any identifiable remains of an ancient town, although the presence of the necropolis indicates that one originally existed.¹⁴

On his second journey, Bankes and his team of artists recorded the temple. There are a total of thirty-three drawings identified as being of Dabod, although these may not all have been made at this time. There is also a description of Dabod, made on the second journey, in the Bankes Album, II, 17-21, together with some other notes and sketches,

⁶ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 142.

⁷ Views which he published in Norden 1757.

⁸ Burkhardt 1822.

⁹ Light 1818.

¹⁰ Finati 1830, II, 85.

¹¹ Belzoni 1822, I, 338.

¹² Rifaud 1830.

¹³ Irby and Mangles 1823, 105.

¹⁴ A detailed list of travellers and their descriptions is found in Roeder 1911.

including one of a 'Lion in Sandstone bro't to me' in the Bankes Album, I, 39, which was the front section of a seated lion 10 ¹/₂ high, on a plinth 1 ²/₃ high.

Finati had remained at Philae, then rejoined Bankes at Kalabsha, so that his *Narrative* does not include a description of Dabod. Barry noted all Bankes' party at Dabod on 17 December 1818, a date which is confirmed by Ricci's diary entry. However, according to Ricci, they left Philae and arrived at 'Deboa' on the 17th, and then at 'Gartas' on the 18th, so although Barry reports them 'busily engaged' they would only have had one day there and then continued their work on the return journey. According to Bankes Album I, 39, they arrived at 'Abou Gummer' (Wadi Gamr) which is only 3.8 km south of Dabod on 2 May (1819) on their return. This gives one of the few certain dates for their return journey.

Gau made a groundplan and drew the temple, the three pylons, the enclosure wall, the larger naos, the landing stage, and the stone sarcophagus. He examined the necropolis of Dabod on his return, noting the presence of many wrapped mummies, mainly without coffins.¹⁵

After Bankes' visit, Cooper visited the temple in the winter of 1820-21, in the company of the painter G. Rossi,¹⁶ and Wilkinson¹⁷ also visited it in that year. They were followed by Champollion in 1828-1829 with the Franco-Tuscan Expedition.¹⁸ Cailliaud decided not to record the Nubian monuments since they had been drawn by Gau and Huyot, both distinguished architects, as well as by Linant for Bankes, the 'savant voyageur anglais de qui l'on attend les recherches les plus précieuses sur l'Égypte et sur la Nubie'.¹⁹ Lepsius' expedition, in November 1843 and August 1844, photographed the temple,²⁰ as did Ducamp between 1849 and 1851,²¹ showing that the columns of the portico facade still remained, although by 1868, according to Baedeker, the portico had fallen. Beato's 1875 photograph and Borchardt's record of 1896 show the three pylons still standing. The temple was inspected in the winter of 1906-7 by Weigall²² who found the third pylon almost entirely robbed of its stone, and in 1907 and 1908, what remained of the temple was reconstructed by Barsanti.

The most important and fundamental study of the temple was carried out by G. Roeder in 1911.²³ F. Daumas,²⁴ revising the surviving texts in 1960, acknowledged that Roeder's two volumes of text and plates remained the most accurate and complete

¹⁵ Gau 1822.

¹⁶ Cooper 1824-7.

¹⁷ Wilkinson 1843.

¹⁸ Champollion 1835 and Champollion 1844.

¹⁹ Cailliaud 1826, I, 304.

²⁰ Lepsius 1849.

²¹ Ducamp 1852.

²² Weigall 1907, 56-9.

²³ Roeder 1911.

²⁴ Daumas 1960.

documentation of the temple. Much of what Roeder recorded was destroyed by the prolonged submergence of the temple for up to ten months of the year as a consequence of the raising of the barrage at Aswan. Roeder's work has been used here as a basis for ascertaining which sections of the Bankes' papers provide information hitherto missing from our record of the temple, its decoration, and texts. Roeder himself continually compares what he found with the earlier sources which he had studied.

When Bankes saw it the temple consisted of a terrace platform (the ancient quay) and causeway leading to three pylons forming a sacred way from the Nile to the portico (forecourt) of the temple. The portico led to the chapel, a small vestibule and the sanctuary, and the central section was flanked by side rooms, the one to the left containing a staircase to the roof. The symmetry was broken by the addition of a small chapel, or *mammisi*, at the south.

Bankes' written description of Dabod from May 1819 is in Bankes Album, II, 17-21. Among his comments on the architecture, Bankes notes that the *mammisi* was undecorated both inside and out, and that it was a 'subsequent addition'. He also recognized that the chapel was 'anterior' to the rest. With an eye for the architectural details, he found the sockets for the hinges of the doors on the portico, and noted the weak brick foundations of the temple. 'What appears like an inclosure wall is nothing more than the side of a great platform...' North-west of the temple he found 'a band of sepulchral horizontal grottoes', one large grotto having three chambers (see VI. A. 16) while below in the plain, several hundred yards away, he noted another necropolis, with anthropoid coffins of red pottery. He also describes the nearby quarries, and includes a measured 'section of the 1st propylon showing details of the perpendicular opening through the soffit' as well as a detail of the construction of the portico. He examined what he thought had been walls on the island of 'Barambroum', and also visited 'Morekoos' (Bankes Album, II, 22) 'a granite island above Debode' where he found ruins of a brick wall and a sandstone architrave which he drew.

ANALYSIS

The thirty-four drawings of Dabod offer a good example of the comprehensive approach which Bankes took to the recording of a site on his second journey. Every possible aspect is covered; reliefs, inscriptions, objects, views, measured architectural plans (including the roof of the temple), individual details of architecture and decoration, relationships of individual structures, and secondary inscriptions. He also copied a solar quadrant or gnomon drawn on a wall (VI. A. 24, 25). Only one of the drawings, the plan VI. A. 14, can be definitely ascribed to Bankes first journey, although perhaps his own watercolour view VI. A. 26 may be from this time.

Of particular importance is the record of the portico (forecourt) which was apparently entirely destroyed by 1868. Although early records remain of the architectural structure and parts of the inscriptions, the careful drawing of an entire wall (VI. A. 6) appears to constitute a unique record of its complete decoration and its hieroglyphic inscriptions. The four capitals of the portico were 'intended for the voluted form, 2 pretty well finished & the reeds[?] which are of a very short proportion wrought but not with the 5 bands.'²⁵

It is also now possible to take a fresh look at the mystery surrounding the two naoi originally in the Sanctuary, of which only one now remains (VI. A. 10), and consequently to reidentify the fragmentary remains found at Gamli.

In addition to the temple Bankes recorded the plan and description of a tomb at Dabod (VI. A. 16).

Gaps in the record of the hieroglyphic inscriptions which can be filled and possibilities for alternative readings have been recorded in Appendix B. Readings which are queried by Roeder and text noted by him as illegible are shown against the Bankes versions. Parts of the relief scenes which are shown in the drawings but apparently missing in other records are also noted.

A number of drawings are inaccurately titled as to their sites, but generally by Ricci; Bankes has correctly titled the sites.

As usual, the history of the construction of the monument could be detected by Bankes' observant eye noting where the stone joints had reliefs lying over them, and elsewhere doors cut through reliefs. The *enfilade* of the temple had originally contained doors. He also deduced from the name of the island opposite, 'Barambroum', that Dabod was the ancient 'Paremboule'.²⁶ Bankes noted that the original structure, the chapel, had been augmented, and distinguished between unfinished and destroyed features.

The buildings are carefully measured and examined for signs of decoration, remaining colour, or inscriptions, which are noted. The drawings of the reliefs show the lines of the construction of the wall as well as recording the relief scenes. The main work of relief recording was left to the experienced hand of Ricci, while Bankes, probably with the aid of Beechey, concentrated on the architectural record; measuring, inquiring, and noting everything, particularly small details such as niches, windows, and waterspouts. Artistic views of architectural integrity are provided by Beechey, while Linant's work can only definitely be identified in his two signed views. Since we have evidence that only a single day of the outward journey was spent at the site, this explains why Linant was unable to contribute more. The two drawings named as copies from Salt are in the usual fluent style for other drawings so marked; presumably, given his own list of such copies, by Linant.

²⁵ Bankes Album, II, 18.

The fact that the Bankes Mss have been entirely ignored in the modern record is of potentially great importance to the drawings contributing to a fuller understanding of Dabod Temple, now displaced and much depleted, a shadow of its former glory.

WADI GAMR

(Between Dabod and Qertassi)

Introduction

Wadi Gamr is 3.8 km south of Dabod. Roeder noted the lower part of a Graeco-Roman black granite stand with a destroyed scene and text lying in an area of cultivation.²⁷

Weigall noted the remains of the substructure of a Roman temple on the east bank in the village of Dîmri, near Wadi Gamr where on the west bank there were the ruins of an ancient temple and town; 'fragments of a column of sandstone and its capital, a block of granite, and a masonry wall'.²⁸ He concluded that this was probably the site of the Roman Parembolē, (which Bankes had assumed to have been at Dabod although surprised, if that was the case, not to find any sign of fortifications there).²⁹ Just south of the ancient walls, Weigall found tunnels cut in the rubble and rough stone sarcophagi of Roman form with flat undecorated lids.

Bankes was at 'Abou Gummer' on 2 May 1819, when his party took shelter in a cove (cave?) from a violent storm on the return leg of his second journey. He noted a brick church with unusual tombs abutting it, found a granite fragment with sections of figures and hieroglyphs remaining on it, and 'In the wall of one of the houses I found the palm capital in 2 separate pieces as given above [drawing]... In the same wall is a fragment of what I believe a bud column. Abou Gummer is not more than a mile or 2 above Dabode on the same bank of the river but not visible from it'.³⁰

ABISKO

(Between Dabod and Qertassi)

Introduction

According to Weigall,³¹ this area, 27 km south of Philae, also contains other rock inscriptions.

²⁶ Bankes Album, II, 18.

²⁷ Roeder 1911, 101-2.

²⁸ Weigall 1907, 59ff.

²⁹ Bankes Album, I, 39.

³⁰ A useful map of the Nile valley from Aswan to the Sudan boundary which includes the smaller sites is found at the end of Weigall 1907.

³¹ Weigall 1907, 61.

In May 1819 Bankes noted 'a tower of brick on the hill founded on a base of stone... quarries...a small tomb with 2 stone mummy cases laid head inwards. a niche in surface of rock over a natural cave & a few hieroglyphs asses & a bull scratched probably since[?] on the rocks' (Bankes Album, II, 22).

QERTASSI

Introduction

A group of ancient sites lay between Wadi Hedid, about 20 km from Aswan, and Qertassi, about 3 km further to the south. At Wadi Hedid there were the remains of a small temple [of which only one column remained standing by the time of Bankes' visit]. There were about twenty-five rough tombs cut into the hillside, south of the village.

The temple at Qertassi is a single chamber peripteral kiosk similar to that at Philae and was situated on an elevated position overlooking the Nile. It is undecorated except for a relief on one column.

At Qertassi no antiquities were earlier than Ptolemaic and the place probably had no importance until the quarries, which supplied the stone for Philae, began to be worked. There was a Roman garrison and the area was inhabited by Greek quarrymen.

There were quarries to the north-west and south of the temple, and one, which lay about halfway between the temple and the fortress, contained a cultic area including votive stelae. The rock face contained some fifty ex-voto Greek inscriptions, various small carved figures and objects, two portrait busts in semi-circular recesses, and a niche shrine in the form of an Egyptian doorway.³²

The massive enclosure on the river about 1.5 km south of the temple was described by Bankes, but at first he did not recognise it as a fortress. According to Weigall 1907, 63, in 1812 Legh saw 'in the south east corner of the enclosure' of the fortress 'six beautiful columns' of a small temple of Isis.³³ Weigall suggests that the ruins should be examined for this 'lost' temple. However Legh in fact describes this temple as being about 400 yds from the north wall, and it appears from his description to be the kiosk temple itself, outside the fortified enclosure. Bankes' plans give a good indication of what structures were actually to be seen within the enclosure at this time.

Because of its elevated position the temple was protected from the flood water of the earlier barrages, and was not damaged as was Dabod. The photographs of Roeder and Weigall do not show substantial changes from Bankes' views of 1818-19. It was saved

³² The above information from Weigall 1907, 61-64.

³³ Legh 1816 called Qertassi, 'Sardab'.

from the higher waters of Lake Nasser by the Unesco project in 1960 and re-erected near the temples of Kalabsha and Beit el Wali on a rocky height overlooking the High Dam.³⁴

Norden described Qertassi, calling it 'Hindau'. Other early travellers also referred to Qertassi as Hindau or Hindaw. Burkhardt saw the temple in 1813, and he and others describe a single column nearby, the only remains of a temple, probably Wadi Hedid. Qertassi was also described by other travellers including Legh, Light, Burkhardt, Belzoni, Rifaud, Gau, and Cooper.³⁵ In their journal published in 1823, Irby and Mangles³⁶ remarked of the Greek inscriptions in the nearby quarry that 'Mr Banks copied all these'.

According to Ricci's diary, they arrived at Qertassi on their outward journey on 18 December 1818 an hour before dusk and the following day he visited the temple. They left for Tafa two hours before dusk so that the bulk of the recording was evidently carried out on their return.

Roeder 1911, has been used as a basis for comparison with the Banks drawings for the reasons which are given in the Introduction to Dabod, above.

ANALYSIS

Banks has a detailed architectural record of the kiosk temple including nine plans and seven views of this picturesque monument. There are five drawings of the quarry, its niche and inscriptions, three of the fortress, and two of his own views of Wadi Hedid, which also show the distant temple at Gamli. His own general description of the site (VI. B. 1) appears to date from 1815, however his description in the Banks Album II, 28-29, which discusses some of the Greek inscriptions from the quarry, the shrines there (one of which he says 'was painted deep yellow'), and includes a brief reference to the details of the kiosk temple, dates from his second journey, and here he suggests that the 'inclosure' may be a fortification.

The most valuable records are his plans of the fortress which are not recorded elsewhere in such detail and appear to be unique. In addition to these a drawing of a 'specimen of the masonry of the great fortified inclosure' appears at Banks Album, I, 118, and other details of it in his description in the Banks Album II, 28-29. He found a 'Globe and snakes but not wings wrought on the inside face of the propylon gate - on the inside not wrought - on the inner face of one of the jambs a figure of Isis wrought - another figure in the same compartment effaced - on the outer face several crosses cut and scratched - within the arch [perhaps 'area'?] an architrave of a door of a sort of Roman pattern bad style'. He also discovered the hinge of the gateway.³⁷

³⁴ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 129.

³⁵ See under Dabod for details of these publications.

³⁶ Irby and Mangles 1823, 105.

³⁷ See Usick 1996, 35, pl. 2 for the publication of the fortress plan.

The details given by Bankes also enable us to recognise Weigall's error in assuming Legh's mystery structure was inside the enclosure (see above).

On his groundplans of the kiosk (VI. B. 2 and 3) Bankes shows what appears to be three lines of wall of its platform base, only two of which are shown as the 'Standlinie' in Roeder 1911, II, pl. 135.

A drawing previously identified by PM as of the rock-cut niche in the quarry has now been reattributed as an entrance in the side screen wall of the temple. The Coptic inscription of VI. B. 20 was omitted by PM.

If both envelope addresses (VI. B. 21, 22) are written by Beechey, as it appears, this implies that he was doing secretarial work for Bankes, as well as for Salt.

A further watercolour sketch of Wadi Hedid is on the verso of X. A. 3 (Gamlay). Further architectural details and a description of Wadi Hedid are in Bankes Album, II, 25-26.

TAFA

Introduction

The site of Tafa, about 30 km from Aswan, occupied a strategic position at the mouth of the pass of a cataract, one of the areas of the river where granite outcrops make navigation difficult and sometimes impossible. The ruins are dotted around the 2 km wide bay and in the hills which here are set back from the river.

On the east bank was the Roman fort of Contra Taphis, and on the west bank, Taphis. Both sites are known from the Itinerary of Antoninus which gives their distance from Talmis (Kalabsha). [This Itinerary was used by Bankes to identify the ancient sites he found with the Roman towns.] No ruins are earlier than the Roman occupation, and buildings were later used for monasteries and churches.

The ruins consisted of two temples, one having almost entirely disappeared by Weigall's time, and several houses built with large stone blocks, which had Egyptian-style doorways with winged sun disk and uraei. A group of six houses probably formed the governor's quarters. The North Temple was near the river; earlier travellers spoke of a flight of steps to it from a quay but this had disappeared by 1906-7 although the undecorated temple remained almost undamaged. It consisted of a single chamber with a roof supported by six columns with floral capitals. The north side contained a recess for an altar; the main entrance was on the south. It probably once had a portico to the south and the whole temple stood on a platform of six courses of masonry, these foundations having originally been below ground level.

The South Temple, which was still standing in 1870, was on the south west of the bay. It was destroyed and its stones were reused in the village houses.

At the south of the bay were three enclosures behind which a rough stairway led to three ruins on the summit of the rocks. These buildings had a fine view but one which had no defensive value. Weigall therefore considers they may have formed a summer pavilion.

There were quarries to the west but no inscriptions there. South of the village, on the rocks, were two short Middle Kingdom inscriptions.

By 1906-7, the bay was already suffering flooding as a result of the Aswan barrage, and the ruins there were deteriorating.³⁸

According to Roeder 1911, 189-190, the site was visited by Norden, 1737; Burckhardt, 1813; Light, 1814; Belzoni, 1815 or 1816; Rifaud, 1805-27; and Gau on 25 January 1819. Roeder also gives details of exactly what each of them recorded.

The later history of the North Temple is given in Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 140-141. The temple had been struck by a ship and had collapsed inwards. It was dismantled and saved in the Unesco rescue project in 1960 and after being stored on Elephantine was donated to the Netherlands. It was rebuilt in the courtyard of the Leiden Museum, which was specially redesigned and covered over for the purpose.

Bankes visited Tafa on his first journey and then again on the outward and the return journey of his second voyage, and interestingly, on returning, he inserted a few comments into the notes he had made previously in the Bankes Album. The Bankes Mss refer to Tafa variously as Taefa, Tayfa, Teyfa, Teffa and Taffa. The references to it in the Bankes Album are at I, 23-37 (written apparently on the journey down river judging by the sequence of sites), 126, and II, 30-34, probably written on the way up-river. Just above Tafa they landed at two islands containing ruins. On the northern one he noted 'ruins of crude brick, 2 fragments of sandstone architrave'. He also records seeing a plant similar to a geranium, 'Durkhan' being sown, and 'some sort of melon growing (I believe) wild'. On the second island he found 'another brick ruin over fragments of a lintel with snakes and one architrave as at Tafa - neither in their places'. Landing opposite the second island on the west bank, they saw 'coarse hieroglyphs' scattered over the surface of the granite rocks. In the area of Tafa many Roman coins were brought to him. About a mile south of Tafa he purchased 'a stamp of copper' and had 'a sarcophagus of pottery bro't to me'.

On his return visit he filled seven pages of the Albums with plans, architectural details, and inscriptions.

According to Ricci's diary, on Bankes' second journey they first arrived at Tafa on 20 December 1818, an hour before sunset, and immediately visited the temples. The following day a measured plan was made of one of the temples, and they left the next day for Kalabsha.

³⁸ All the above information on Tafa is extracted from Weigall 1907, 64-67.

ANALYSIS

Roeder 1911, 189-209, pls. 82-92, and Schneider 1979 were consulted for a comparison with the evidence of the twenty-three drawings of Tafa, but neither were aware of the Bankes Mss.³⁹ Since the South Temple had been destroyed, the North Temple dismantled and moved to Leiden, and the site itself lost under Lake Nasser, Bankes' detailed record is especially valuable, particularly since it is now possible to say on stylistic grounds that quite a high proportion of the drawings appear to date from Bankes' 1815 journey.

The group of three drawings of site plans probably date from 1818-19 and many structures in the bay are shown with their measurements and orientations which are drawn in relation to the two temples (shown on the plans as containing columns). Unfortunately there is no key to identify the individually marked structures.

A number of fragments from the site have been drawn. On his first journey Bankes illustrated the most 'singular' of these, which does not seem to appear in any other published record (VI. C. 9 and 10). These, as well as the description VI. C. 8, definitely date to 1815. The plan and description, VI. C. 11, although smaller than others in this series, nevertheless bear all the hallmarks of being from the first journey as well, with its elaborate script, format, prose style, spelling of 'Taefa', and the reference to lost notes. It is important as further evidence of the position of the doors of the North Temple. Bankes' plan supports that of Rifaud, but not that of Barry (see below). Bankes' view of the interior of the temple, VI. C. 19, is evidently related to his VI. C. 11 and also made in 1815, while his watercolour VI. C. 20 is also from this first journey, as may be his panorama VI. C. 17.

The South Temple, now lost, is particularly well-documented here with detailed plans and fine views, and VI. C. 13 shows additional details of the ruined area in the front of the temple, compared with the plan of Barry. The remaining structures at the side of the North Temple are also recorded; albeit differently on two of the views, and eliminated from Bankes' watercolour.

VI. C. 14 and 15, described by PM as being of the South Temple, can now be identified as the North Temple.

No doubt all the large plans were works of collaboration, and here, on VI. C. 13 we have evidence of Bankes' and Ricci's hands on the same plan.

³⁹ Despite Schneider's references to other Mss sources such as Barry and Hay; Bankes is not mentioned (Schneider, 1979, chapter 9).

KALABSHA

Introduction

Travelling south from Tafa, Weigall noted that there were islands formed in the winter which were connected to the mainland in summer.⁴⁰ The large and imposing temple of Kalabsha (the largest in Lower Nubia after Philae) lay on the west bank of the Nile about 10 km south of Tafa, and about 55 km south of the first cataract. (Banks noted that it resembled Edfu in plan, 'tho probably much later' and correctly identified the site as the Roman Talmis.) Nearby, further up the hillside to the north was the earlier Ramesside rock-cut temple of Beit el Wali. Between them Weigall noted the remains of the ancient town. This ancient settlement was largely ignored by the early nineteenth-century travellers as it was less interesting to them than the temples.⁴¹

Although the temple is largely a Roman construction, Amenhotep II's name appears on reliefs and a statue of Thutmose III was found in an area said to be near the quay, and was carefully recorded by Banks. (Curto⁴² considers that the original building was probably Ptolemaic but that there was a tradition of Amenhotep II at the site which is reflected by his appearance in relief scenes there. While Thutmose III was known to have been active in building work in Nubia, the statue may have simply been moved from elsewhere, possibly by the Romans. The statue, seen in situ by the early nineteenth-century travellers, was for many years considered to be lost. The identification of it as the one from the Museo Egizio di Firenze, inv. 1789, Cat. Schiaparelli 1503, was made on the basis of the Banks Album drawing, I, 11)⁴³

The builder of the small Ptolemaic chapel in the Great Temple precinct is not definitely known although it is considered likely to have been either Ptolemy X or Ptolemy V.⁴⁴

The present temple (referred to by PM as the Great Temple of Mandulis) was built under Augustus for the local god Mandulis and augmented under later emperors. According to Edwards⁴⁵ 'It was in Lower Nubia... that the cult of Isis made its greatest impact, especially in the so-called Dodekaschoenus, the territory extending southwards for 80 miles (130 km) from the First Cataract to Maharraqa... One of the gods of the Dodekaschoenus, named Mandulis, whose chief sanctuary lay at Kalabsha, was not only admitted by the Egyptian priests into the Osiris-Isis family as a son of Horus, but

⁴⁰ The following description of Kalabsha and its temple is taken from Weigall 1907, 68-73.

⁴¹ See Monneret de Villard 1941, for a study of the settlement.

⁴² Curto et al. 1965, 20. This publication is the record of work carried out by the Turin mission during the Unesco salvage programme. The temple had already been removed and the area turned over with a bulldozer, making any archaeological investigation there impossible. The team therefore concentrated on an examination of the other remains at the site; in particular the walled city.

⁴³ Curto et al. 1965, 82.

⁴⁴ The identification of the name of Ptolemy X is not certain; see VII. A. 14.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Säve-Söderbergh 1987, Annex VI, 241.

possessed a small temple at Philae...' The Greeks' Mandulis was the ancient Egyptian Merul, or Melul, and he is generally regarded as a form of Osiris or Harpocrates.

Talmis is the Latin name from the Greek, and Curto considers, contrary to Weigall, that the Egyptian name in hieroglyphs (*Tlmst*) derives from the Greek and not vice versa. The name Kalabsha was known to earlier travellers in various forms, with a variation in the use of 'b' and 'p'.

The Romans abandoned Talmis to the Blemmyes in about 300 AD and it was then conquered by Silko, the Christian king of Nubia, and both Kalabsha and Beit el Wali were used as Christian churches. There are many Greek/Coptic(?) inscriptions, mostly from the second and third centuries AD⁴⁶ which Bankes copied into his Album, and he also noted the Meroitic inscription on a column of 'the portico'. Bankes, in his Album, tells us that the famous inscription of King Silko recording his conquest escaped his notice on his first journey. He adds that it was first remarked on and copied by Mr Salt and that it was certain that it was post-Diocletian but before the conversion of Nubia to Christianity. It gave the name of a king and a conqueror. 'The boastful style of the whole record is very remarkable... it is evident that it comes from the dictation of a barbarian translated literally into very indifferent Greek. The cruel mode of warfare alluded to ...'⁴⁷ On finding an inscription which was an order for driving pigs out of the temple Bankes noted that it was 'surprising to find that the authority of the military command of Ombos and Elephantine extended up this far above the cataract'. Another inscription dating to Hadrian confirmed his view that 'the style of the temple so evidently betrays the decline of Egyptian architecture...'

The Great Temple had a quay leading from the river to its two terraces which were linked by a causeway. Bankes notes finding 'in the long terrace Dromos some stones with hieroglyphs on them & figures that do not seem of an early style'.⁴⁸ The massive pylon of the temple leads into a Forecourt, which originally had a colonnade on the north, east, and south sides. Within the inner enclosure wall of the pylon was a separate building consisting of a hypostyle hall, an outer vestibule, an inner vestibule, and a sanctuary. A staircase led to the roof from a chamber of the outer vestibule. Within the outer enclosure wall the south-west corner of the enclosure contained a rock-cut chapel, and a Ptolemaic chapel stood in the north-east corner. Bankes noted that much of the temple remained unfinished and undecorated although in part richly decorated and brightly painted; some of the work was 'abominably bad & very unfinished... It is very remarkable how superior the structure of this temple is to the style and sculpture of it'.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ According to Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 127.

⁴⁷ This 'testimony to the final triumph of Christianity... officially in year 543 AD' was, in actuality, probably a slow process over perhaps a century 'and the role of Silko is not clear'. Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 40.

⁴⁸ Bankes Album, I, 35.

⁴⁹ Bankes Album, I, 5.

Gauthier's study of the temple,⁵⁰ made after Barsanti's consolidation work in 1907, appears to be the most thorough general report made and has been used here as a basis of comparison with the Bankes Mss.⁵¹ In his introduction Gauthier gives a fairly comprehensive list of early travellers and their reports, although Bankes is not mentioned and his work was not discovered when Gauthier searched for early records of destroyed elements of the temple.⁵² Gauthier considered from the available records that the greatest deterioration of the temple fabric had occurred between 1875 and 1907. By 1906-7 the temple was in a dilapidated state and part of the terrace was covered with water in winter as a result of the Aswan barrage. Fallen stones from the roof and walls filled its rooms (although as can be seen from some of the Bankes Mss views, this was not a new phenomenon). Gauthier notes that many of the relief scenes of the temple had been destroyed earlier by deliberate hammering out, and that the Copts had covered whole walls with a mud and chopped straw mixture on which they had painted frescoes.

As at other sites the threat of flooding (the temple was entirely submerged for nine months of the year) provoked international action under Unesco auspices and Kalabsha temple was moved, joining Beit el Wali and the Qertassi kiosk on a new site near the High Dam. A further study of the temple by Daumas through CEDAE in 1956 for the Unesco mission was necessary to augment the work of Gauthier because he had worked alone, pressed for time, and under difficult conditions.⁵³ The Ptolemaic Chapel was also studied by CEDAE.⁵⁴ The work of saving the temple was documented by Stock and Siegler.⁵⁵

During the dismantling process between 1961 and 1963, earlier blocks of the Ptolemaic structure were found and the groundplan of the earlier temple traced. A smaller chapel with a landing quay, and a portico of imposing dimensions plus some blocks of the Meroitic king Ergamenes were discovered and this rediscovered early Ptolemaic temple was erected on Elephantine island and the portico given to the West Berlin Museum as a recompense to the Federal Republic of Germany who had rescued Kalabsha temple.⁵⁶

Gauthier in his Introduction, discusses the early travellers to the site in some detail.⁵⁷ The temple was much visited by early nineteenth-century travellers. Norden⁵⁸ had noted a village called Kalabsha but failed to mention any ruins. Legh⁵⁹ preceded Burckhardt⁶⁰ by a few days in 1813, measured the temple accurately and left a five-page

⁵⁰ Gauthier 1911.

⁵¹ However this catalogue follows the PM style of numbering the registers rather than that of Gauthier.

⁵² Only the records of those travellers whose reports were prior or roughly contemporary to Bankes are discussed here.

⁵³ Daumas 1970, 1.

⁵⁴ de Meulenaere and Dewachter 1964-70.

⁵⁵ Stock and Siegler 1965.

⁵⁶ Säve-Soderbergh 1987, 132.

⁵⁷ See Gautier 1911, Introduction, for full references to the published works.

⁵⁸ Norden 1757.

⁵⁹ Legh 1816.

⁶⁰ Burkhardt 1822.

description noting some of the non-hieroglyphic inscriptions. Burkhardt referred to some recesses or cells in the Sanctuary but Gauthier was unable to find anything of this kind there. Light,⁶¹ who visited in May 1814, describes the paved approach from the quay; 'on each side of this pavement there appears to have been a row of sphinxes, one of which lay headless near the pavement'. According to Gauthier he was the last visitor to refer to this sphinx and possibly the low waters of May had exposed them while they remained hidden to winter visitors. Light,⁶² notes that for the area above Philae he had received information from a Mr Buckingham,⁶³ 'an English gentleman who went as far as Dukkey a short time before me.'

Light interestingly discusses possible connections between the ancient cultures of Egypt and India and cites the presence of 'pyramids and hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans' who also had pictures as their earliest form of writing. He also noticed Christian remains in the temples of Nubia and his editor(?) writes, 'The travels of Mr Banks and Buckhardt [sic] will, perhaps, prove whether he [Light] was right in imagining Christianity might be thus traced to Abyssinia. Yet, if these travellers have not confined themselves to the shores of the Nile, the field is still left open for speculation and discovery.'⁶⁴

Irby and Mangles⁶⁵ visited the temple in June 1818. They left the making of plans and measurements until their return journey but were then prevented from entering the temple by the inhabitants.

Gau⁶⁶ arrived in 1819 towards the end of January but did not stop until his return several weeks later when he says that he celebrated Easter there. He almost left after a few days because of the (false) rumour of an English invasion of Egypt, but he stayed, paid the inhabitants for permission to visit the temple, and took some into his service. He tells us that he was only able to make a plan of the temple with some difficulty.

According to Ricci's diary Banks' party arrived at Kalabsha an hour before sunset on 22 December 1818 on their way south and visited the temple and 'grotta' (probably Beit el Wali). The following day it was extremely cold and Ricci began to make a drawing of the chamber in the middle of the temple. The 24th was even colder. On the 25th there is no mention of this being Christmas day and the following day he merely notes the weather. On the 27th towards the evening, unusually for him, he records an incident. The inhabitants of the village had caught a remarkably fine hyena in a village house where it had entered in search of prey. This hyena even features in the equally laconic diary of Linant,⁶⁷ and Banks also gives us a description of it.⁶⁸ They left the site on the 28th, an

⁶¹ Light 1818, 64.

⁶² Light 1818, 55.

⁶³ James Silk Buckingham.

⁶⁴ Light 1818, Preface, xv.

⁶⁵ Irby and Mangles 1823.

⁶⁶ Gau 1822.

⁶⁷ Linant de Bellefonds Mss, Bibliothèque du Louvre Mss 267.

hour before sunset (but over this is faintly written, 'la mattina', the morning, which seems more likely as they would probably not have travelled at night). With a strong north wind they arrived at Dendur an hour after midday.

Kalabsha, 1818-19, is recorded in the Bankes Album I, 2-22 (this section on the return judging by the sequence of sites), 89, 128, and II, 34-46 (this section written on the journey out), 96, 128-132.

ANALYSIS

The forty-two drawings of Kalabsha form an important record of the site. The choice of reliefs to be recorded by Bankes' team seems to have favoured the southern walls of the Great Temple. Perhaps there was less massive debris obstructing them there, or they may have chosen the walls with the brightest colours remaining. Gauthier points out that the colours on the north walls of the Inner Vestibule and Sanctuary were more faded from greater exposure to sunlight on that side.⁶⁹ The colours remaining on the temple were recorded in meticulous detail in Ricci's watercolours. Although generally in strong tones, some (e.g. in VII. A. 8) may reflect fading. The colours are largely similar to those described by Gauthier but the variations are given here, as are details of parts of the relief scenes which were missing by Gauthier's time. With regard to the colours, Bankes noted that the Inner Vestibule had a star ceiling in blue. Of the use of violet, he remarks, 'Isis painted a deep violet colour which seems to stand in place of black. This might seem natural in Ethiopia but is not found elsewhere...'⁷⁰ Champollion believed that this use of violet, which he also had never seen before, was part of a surface treatment intended to receive gilding.⁷¹ This idea of the gilding of some areas was repeated by other travellers but there is no reference here to finding any, although Bankes notes (Album, I, 34, written on the journey out 1818), that he did 'search for gilding on front observed by Mr Baillie'.

Bankes' interest in the architecture extended beyond the style to the structure and function of the building. Unlike other travellers who continue to note without query the columns in the inner chambers on their plans, assuming them to have been original,⁷² Bankes astutely remarks on the fact that they seemed oddly positioned.⁷³ He found that they did not support platebands but 'the roofstones themselves & are probably put afterwards, a very ineffective contrivance since each could only support that particular roofstone that rested on it which was in no more danger than the rest.' According to

⁶⁸ Bankes Album, II, 35. Bankes took detailed measurements of it, and carefully described it.

⁶⁹ Gauthier 1911, 58-59.

⁷⁰ Bankes Album, II, 35.

⁷¹ Quoted in Gauthier 1911, xxviii.

⁷² This assumption, according to Gauthier 1911, an error, could still be found in the Baedeker guide book of 1908.

⁷³ Bankes Album, I, 5.

Gauthier,⁷⁴ Maspero, during work on the temple in 1905 and 1907, had discovered that the Copts had moved the shafts of columns from the rock-cut chapel in order to consolidate the ceilings and none of these chambers had ever originally possessed columns.

Two interesting elements of the building which have been studied by Daumas are the mammisi complex, and the Wabet (purification chamber) on the roof. The Wabet was missed by Gauthier in his study, probably being hidden behind the Nubian houses built on the temple roof in an area which he did not explore, while Daumas disagrees with Gauthier on the identity of the mammisi. It is possible that Bankes' plans may throw some light on both structures. Daumas considered that the structure in the south-west corner of the great enclosure (PM's Chapel of Dedwen) was the mammisi. He refuted Gauthier's view that if there ever had been a mammisi it would most likely have been in front of the pylon. Interestingly, Bankes gives us an apparently hitherto unidentified structure in this very area, shown in VII. A. 28 and 31.

The Wabet appears to be represented on the plan and section of the staircase VII. A. 23. (compare Daumas 1970, pl. III and pl. XXV), and Bankes even observed the draining function of the waterspout from the Wabet chamber.⁷⁵

The remains of an important cartouche, now illegible, which might date the Ptolemaic chapel are recorded on VII. A. 14. A watercolour drawing of one of the Christian frescoes by Bankes on VII. A. 19 was excluded from PM as it did not fall within their criteria, and subsequently may not be known. An offering table, drawn in VII. A. 20, was wrongly identified by PM as a window and omitted from their publication. Two views are not of Kalabsha; VII. A. 33 and 35.

In addition to the above, the collection includes a group of extremely detailed plans of the temple and some fine views, as well as many instances where Bankes' version supplies missing or queried details. These have been recorded in Appendix B, where the new evidence of VII. A. 14 is also discussed.

BEIT EL WALI

Introduction

Cut into the sandstone of the hillside about 300 m from the temple of Kalabsha, some 50 km south of Aswan, was the small temple of Beit el Wali, built by Ramesses II in the thirteenth century BC. One of seven temples built by this king at six different sites in Lower Nubia, each construction larger than the one before it, this small temple in which the early form of the king's name appears, was constructed around the beginning of his long reign. The historical relief scenes show the military conquests of the king. He is seen

⁷⁴ Gauthier 1911, Introduction, ix.

triumphing over foes to the north and south of Egypt; Asiatics from Syria-Palestine, Libyans, and Nubians, who are shown bringing him rich 'tribute'. Unlike his later temple iconography, the king is not yet himself worshipped as a god in this temple, but in its inner chambers he is pictured among the various gods who were worshipped in the area at this time.

Here, as at most of his temples, there had apparently not been any previous temple construction, and why this site should have been chosen is not known. Some of Ramesses' temples were constructed by his chief minister in charge of Nubia, the viceroy of Kush, and men with this title dedicated chapels and statues or left graffiti in their own names. Amenemope, viceroy under Ramesses II and his father Seti I, is mentioned at Beit el Wali.⁷⁶

According to the report of the joint University of Chicago Oriental Institute/Schweizerisches Institute für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo 1960-61 expedition,⁷⁷ despite the obvious attraction of the well preserved historical scenes, the temple itself, being small, having lost its facade and being out of the way by comparison with Kalabsha, was not at first very accessible to eighteenth-century travellers, even those who mention Kalabsha. Norden does not mention the temple, and the area soon acquired a reputation for inhospitality. The armed and aggressive local population only allowed access to travellers who were prepared to pay for the privilege. The temple is not mentioned by Legh in 1813, Light in 1814, Cailliaud in 1820, or Cooper in 1820-21, although they all visited Kalabsha. Irby and Mangles record the local antagonism. Burckhardt visited it in March 1813, Belzoni in 1815 or 1816, and Rifaat between 1805 and 1827. Gau, virtually contemporary with Bankes, made plans and sections in 1819 which although considered to be inaccurate⁷⁸ were valuable since they showed the remains of the construction inside the entrance hall from its probable 700-year service as a church. (As at Kalabsha, the remains of the Christian constructions were cleared away at the beginning of this century without a proper survey having been made.)

Roeder's study of the temple⁷⁹ based on his investigations in 1907 and 1909 is considered to have been the major study prior to Rieke et al. 1967. However, as Greener, one of the artists with the joint USA/Swiss expedition, points out,⁸⁰ Roeder's work used

⁷⁵ Bankes Album, I, 5.

⁷⁶ The above general information on the temple is from Habachi 1981, 197-236. Habachi adds that Amun Re appears to have been the main deity worshipped here, and that the god Mandulis, worshipped at Kalabsha temple, was unknown at this earlier period.

⁷⁷ Rieke et al. 1967.

⁷⁸ Rieke et al. 1967.

⁷⁹ Roeder 1938.

⁸⁰ Greener 1962, 133.

photographic recording for the reliefs⁸¹ and typographic printing for the texts, which is a less satisfactory method than the type of epigraphic study pioneered by the University of Chicago Oriental Institute. Their study was in effect a step back to the technique employed by Bankes, with artists at the site for long periods, recording every trace that remained of reliefs and inscriptions and preserving the actual layout of the decorative scheme and inscriptions. Although the modern artists had the benefit of commencing with a photographic image to work from, Greener's experiences were close to those of the nineteenth-century travellers.⁸² Greener and his colleagues worked by the light obtained by the manipulation of several large mirrors to reflect sunlight into the inner recesses of the temple. Despite covering the entrance with a large black cloth to facilitate the photography, the wind still whistled into every corner of the temple; 'cold and a devil-driven wind that shook our drawing boards were our enemies'. At mid-day they warmed their hands on mugs of strong tea and would 'thaw out' in the sun. They were surprised at the extent of the winter cold and the noise of the river's waves beating on the rocky shore like a sea.

Greener was told (by L. Habachi) that the lack of ancient objects to be found locally was due to all the graves in the area having been cleaned out when 'a certain guide' had made a fortune in the early days of Nile tourism by taking parties through Nubia, buying up anything the locals could find and selling it in his shop at Luxor. Even the Gurna village men, whose homes were (and remain today) built over the many Theban tombs at Luxor, found it worthwhile to come up to Nubia for a season's digging for antiquities.

Shortly after Bankes' visit to Beit el Wali, all the remaining colour was removed from the historical reliefs by Bonomi, who in 1826 while working for Robert Hay, made the plaster casts which are now in the British Museum. Greener could see the scratches on the temple made by the knives used to cut away the plaster.

The following description of the temple is given by Ricke et al. 1967. Weigall 1907, 73-76, also describes the site.

Like other rock-cut temples, none of the angles or levels are regular and the original work was not carried out with much care, although the visitor will probably not be aware of this. The temple consists of an Entrance Hall, a transverse Columned Hall, and a Sanctuary.⁸³ The Entrance Hall lacks its front closure (probably originally a single tower pylon) and its roof, which consisted of a great barrel vault (and not a flat roof as thought by Roeder). Curiously, the side doorways from the Columned Hall to the Entrance Hall were introduced secondarily, cutting through the decorative relief scheme, although they still show the early form of Ramesses' name. The temple contained three niches, each

⁸¹ The photographic records at that time were not of a good enough quality for a proper study of details, nor could the remaining colours be reproduced in the publications (Säve-Söderbergh, 1987, 49).

⁸² Greener 1962, 130-137.

⁸³ These are the Forecourt, Vestibule and Sanctuary of PM.

containing a triptych statue group of the king with two deities, cut into the rock, with altars before them. A low ramp of natural rock, removed in Christian times, had run in front of the doorway leading from the Columned Hall into the Sanctuary. There were no remains of any direct approach to the temple from the river.

To save it from the waters of Lake Nasser the temple was dismantled, cut up, and transferred to the rocky height at Khor Ingi between 1962 and 1965, using American funds and the resources of the Egyptian Antiquities Service under the auspices of the Unesco project. Overlooking the High Dam, it joined the rebuilt Kalabsha temple and Qertassi kiosk.⁸⁴

ANALYSIS

It is quite difficult to attribute the twenty-eight drawings made at Beit el Wali in Bankes' portfolio with any security since there are few annotations. General stylistic differences have therefore been relied on. Only two of the drawings can be attributed to Linant. Ricci was however evidently not just involved in the major task of recording the Kalabsha temple since some drawings are definitely his. Ricci's diary shows that while at Kalabsha, 22-28 December 1818 on the outward journey, he visited the 'grotta' (no doubt Beit el Wali), but he does not note working there at that time. A high proportion of the work may be Bankes' own.

Curiously all the drawings were made in outline only and do not include any of the interesting internal painted details shown in the tribute scenes in the Bonomi casts. However on the whole they constitute a very faithful copy of the historical reliefs and the accompanying inscriptions. Despite the fact that much colour remained, no attempt seems to have been made to record the scenes in colour, whereas much of the work from Kalabsha was in watercolour and very detailed as to the colours. On the whole the reliefs have remained in good condition and Bankes' drawings are remarkably similar to those of Ricke et al.

Beit el Wali contained something of the historical information that Bankes says he was seeking. Bankes refers to Ramesses as the 'hero' because of the size and prominence of his figure as conqueror in the battle scenes. Bankes also noted the structural alterations to the side doors. While the grandeur of Kalabsha, together with the multiplicity of Greek/Coptic(?), therefore readable and potentially historically important, inscriptions, may have proved a stronger attraction, it seems he himself recorded quite a few of the details at Beit el Wali. Only part of his journal description remains and the Albums only contain one page marked 'Beit el Waly' compared with large numbers of Greek/Coptic(?) inscriptions and notes from Kalabsha. For the purpose of comparison, Ricke et al. 1967

⁸⁴ Säve-Söderbergh 1987.

has been used.

DENDUR

Introduction

The temple of Dendur was situated on the west bank about 19 km south of Kalabsha and 77 km south of Aswan. It lay close to the river's edge and abutted the low cliff face. The remains of the ancient town lay around it.⁸⁵

The temple was built by the Roman emperor Augustus over an existing shrine and was dedicated to two deified local men, Petesi and Pihor, presumably brothers as both are called 'son of *Kwpr*'. They are described as *hsy* '3 'the regular title of the drowned in late Demotic, and in Ptolemaic transfers of mummies and funeral services'.⁸⁶ They probably lived not earlier than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty when these names first came into use.⁸⁷ At Dendur the pharaoh is shown worshipping them and other deities.

The temple consisted of a terrace and a pylon before the main body of the temple. This was made up of the successive chambers of the Pronaos, the Vestibule, and the Sanctuary, the latter having a hidden crypt. In the cliff behind the rear wall of the Sanctuary there was a rock-cut shrine. The large raised terrace is similar to the type found at Kalabsha.

The monumental pylon gateway stands alone without any trace of its side towers and it is not known whether these ever existed. It stood alone in 1737, as Norden's drawings show. Separated from the pylon by a courtyard is the main temple, built on a stone platform. Paving in this courtyard may be original or a modern restoration.⁸⁸ The temple was converted into a church but the eighteenth-century drawings show no trace of this.⁸⁹ At the rear of the Sanctuary is a relief in the form of a stela with a relief of the upper part of a naos above it.

At the back of the temple was a small undecorated rock-cut chapel which contained a bench into which a hollow had been cut. There were traces of a construction in front of it which Norden shows as a pylon, but whether it had ever been joined to the temple could not be ascertained even when the foundations of the temple were examined. It is not on the main axis of the temple and it may have been the original shrine. Its door had been restored

⁸⁵ The following information has been obtained from Weigall 1907, 78-80, Blackman 1911, and the three volumes of the CEDAE publication of Dendur Temple: El-Achirie 1972, Aly et al. 1979, and Ibrahim and Leblanc 1975, which are also the sources against which the drawings have been compared.

⁸⁶ Blackman 1911, 82, quoting from Griffith, *Ä. Z.* [*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, 1863 etc.] 46, 132.

⁸⁷ Weigall 1907, 78.

⁸⁸ El-Achirie 1972, 11.

⁸⁹ El-Achirie 1972, 15, but see Bankes' comments in VIII. A. 18.

and strengthened when the temple was built.⁹⁰ Bankes noted that the built section of the 'grotto' seemed to have been constructed later than the excavated part.⁹¹ On the stela in the Sanctuary, Petesi and Pihor are said to be 'entombed in the Holy Hill' so possibly this might have been their tomb and the temple might represent their funerary chapel.⁹²

When Barsanti restored and consolidated the temple in 1908-9, he only partially rebuilt the antechamber as many of the stones of its walls were missing. He also filled the cracks in the rock-cut chapel, 'qui étaient devenus de vrais nids à serpents'.⁹³

The temple was included in the series *Temples immergés de la Nubie*, and fully published by Blackman in 1911. However, when work on the Unesco rescue project began and the temple was dismantled in October 1962, it was studied and extensively documented by the CEDAE in two seasons work (Autumn 1961 and 1962) and published in three sections; I. Architecture, II. Drawings, and III. Photography. Although acknowledging the importance of Blackman's work, the CEDAE had the opportunity to make an intensive architectural study and to show 'l'ensemble complet des dessins des reliefs et inscriptions', producing in effect a work based on the same system and principles practised by Bankes and his artists some one hundred and forty years earlier. Many of the comments in this modern publication echo those of Bankes himself.

The temple, after being stored on Elephantine island, is now in New York, having been given to the USA in recompense for their aid with the Unesco rescue. It has been reconstructed in a specially designed wing of the Metropolitan Museum.

According to Ricci's diary, Bankes' party left Kalabsha an hour before dawn on 28 December 1818 on their outward journey and with a strong north wind arrived at 'Dendura' one hour after midday when Ricci then began the plan of the temple 'sul Sig. Bankes' (presumably meaning under the supervision of Bankes). He drew the exterior face of the temple in the afternoon. The following day he continued working and finished these drawings. The wind was still blowing strongly from the north and it was very cold in the evening. They left the next day (30 December 1818) two hours after daybreak.

The description in the Bankes Album⁹⁴ notes the 'portico' ceiling decoration of alternating winged vultures and cobras, and that the north door while well-cut was 'certainly not in the original plan'. He also noticed 'on the Propylon - remains of paint' (he adds later that it was on the 'fluting of the cornish'). He observed that the terrace could not have been a quay since the river never reached up to it; a fact noted in exactly the same way by El-Achirie 1972, preface, IV. Instead, Bankes thought that the area might have been a burial ground like a churchyard. The Unesco excavation revealed the existence of steps giving lateral access to the terrace. El-Achirie 1972, 12-13, also supports Bankes' views

⁹⁰ Weigall 1907, 80.

⁹¹ Bankes Album II, 52.

⁹² Weigall 1907, 80.

⁹³ Maspero 1911, tome premier, 87.

regarding the damage to the Pronaos being the result of alterations made to convert it to a Coptic church.

Bankes' Album notes continue: 'I suspect the grotto [the rock-cut chapel] at the back (whose built part however seems posterior to the excavated part) for a tomb & there is a row of small tombs ranging with it & below both N & S - in one to the S is a stone mummy case & near it a rude cover without sculpture.' He also sketched the pattern on the bases of the columns. He considered the reliefs of the temple 'not of the best & lightest sort, yet better than Kalapshé and possibly earlier.' Under his notes he drew a small sketch of the rear part of 'sphinxes on tambours[?] as at Ombos &c'.

ANALYSIS

On VIII. A. 2 we have some details of reliefs now missing; otherwise the twenty-six drawings do not seem to give us any reliefs or inscriptions not otherwise recorded. They do however give us some interesting architectural information and the views provide a good record of the relationships of the temple structures in their original environment. Bankes shows us the remains of what he took to be the church conversion on his plan VIII. A. 18, and perhaps a previously unrecorded structure near the end of the terrace in VIII. A. 10 and 16. There are views showing the terrace in a virtually complete condition and a profile of its end wall, VIII. A. 12. There are also a number of views, descriptions and plans which throw some light on the exterior part of the rock-cut chapel behind the temple.

According to Blackman 1911, 1, the excavated chamber had a doorway of dressed stone with an Egyptian cornice and in front of it was 'a small court or anteroom of which only the lower parts of the walls remain. Rifaud (*Voyages en Egypte et en Nubie*, p. 152) in his plan of Dendur temple, makes the walls join on to the west wall of the sanctuary, and in Quatremère de Quincy (*L'Architecture égyptienne*,⁹⁴ Pl. 17, fig. 67) we see a pylon-like construction in front of the rock-chamber. Something like the latter appears as a restoration in Gau (Pl. 25), but his plan and view from the south-east (Pl. 23) give no indication whatever of the walls having originally extended as far as the west end of the sanctuary, and there are certainly no traces of this at the present time. Gau's view shows that the walls were higher in his day than they are now, and possibly his restoration of a small anteroom with a cornice is a correct one.'

Gau's plan of an anteroom is clearly drawn as a restoration over the extant remaining walls and it is apparent from his views and those the Bankes' collection that the remaining side walls consisted of blocks of stone broken in a stepped fashion. However unlike Gau, Bankes almost always drew what was to be seen rather than positing

⁹⁴ Bankes Album II, 52.

hypothetical restorations, and it is therefore odd that Bankes' measured sections, VIII. A. 11 and 13 appear to show not only the inner cornices against the rock but an *outer measured cornice* as well as other measurements for what is perhaps an anteroom. There appears to be no explanation for his inclusion of such exact measurements of the outer section unless it existed or else was perhaps a fallen fragment and this is a reconstruction. Bankes and Gau show virtually exactly the same construction. Bankes appears to be the only source for the measurements of this external anteroom. He also gives us the information that both rock-cut and exterior parts were 'without Hieroglyphics' and presumably also implies that they were both undecorated (VIII. A. 18).

A drawing VIII. A. 19 identified by PM as of Dendur is actually of Dakka and has now been placed with other drawings of that site as VIII. C. 39. VIII. A. 23 is a copy of one of Salt's drawings. VIII. A. 18 is another in the series of plans and descriptions from Bankes' first journey 1815-6. Two negative points; there is no mention here of the ruins of the ancient town, nor any evidence that the rock-cut chapel was connected to the main temple.

GERF HUSSEIN

Introduction

Gerf Hussein is a rock-cut temple of Ramesses II which lay about 14 km south of Dendur, and 87 km south of Aswan. Jaquet and El-Achirie 1978, describes the temple as 'un pastiche nubien' of Abu Simbel, and suggests that the heavy clumsy style of its statues prefigures that of later Meroitic art. It is a coarser, provincial version of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, and Weigall reports it as having been in a very poor condition.⁹⁶ He found it filthy, blackened and infested with bats; its reliefs practically indistinguishable. He felt that the grotesque Osiride figures with their shiny blackened surfaces looming out of the darkness of the Hall provoked feelings of fear and terror rather than the awe inspired by the refined magnificence of those of Abu Simbel. These feelings may have deterred most travellers from carving their names there.⁹⁷

Because of the existence of rock graffiti in the vicinity from prehistoric as well as Middle and New Kingdom times, Weigall considered that the area probably had had some sacred significance before Ramesses II chose it as the site for his temple. The temple was dedicated to Ptah, and the town, which lay opposite on the eastern bank, was named Tutzis. Since no Roman temple was constructed there, Weigall assumes that the town had ceased to be important by Roman times. According to Weigall, the temple was later

⁹⁵ Quoted in Blackman 1911, 1, but no full reference given.

⁹⁶ Weigall 1907, 81-83.

⁹⁷ Jaquet and El-Arichie 1978, Preface, III-IV,

converted to a church;⁹⁸ however Jaquet and El Achirie 1978 disagree.⁹⁹ Weigall describes a monastery nearby which fits Bankes' description of a 'church' he saw.

The temple construction had an open court with walls cut from the natural rock. There had been a pylon near the river (of which Champollion noted traces) and from this a dromos or avenue of sphinxes had led to a flight of steps which mounted the hillside to the gateway of the court. On three sides of this court was a covered colonnade, the columns flanked with colossal statues of Ramesses II. A small doorway led from the court into a Hall, excavated in the rock, which contained square pillars on either side flanked by colossal Osiride statues of Ramesses II. There were niches in the north and south walls of the court, as well as four niches each side of the Hall behind the great pillars. Each niche contained statues in the half-round showing Ramesses II between two gods. A single niche in the Sanctuary contained statues of Ramesses II and three gods. Ramesses was also shown in the reliefs, offering to his own deified figure.

Beyond the Hall, a Vestibule led to a Sanctuary and four further chambers which were undecorated. The Sanctuary contained a pedestal which probably supported the sacred boat which is seen in the Sanctuary reliefs and which was used for the ritual transport of the image of the god.

Owing to its poor condition (and perhaps to what was perceived as its poor quality), the temple was apparently not included in the documentation carried out in the *Temples immergés de la Nubie* series. However, subsequent to Weigall and Maspero's reports, some consolidation work was done by Barsanti. The walls were not cleaned as it was feared the remaining colour would be lost. On the eve of the Unesco rescue project the temple of Gerf Hussein remained the least documented of all the threatened rock-cut temples.

Documentation was begun in 1955 and the first programme of ground photogrammetry was initiated there, including the recording of the colossi. The finest colossus was probably made by a court sculptor and served as the prototype for the rest which were accomplished by provincial sculptors. The colossus was removed to safety but the temple itself was unable to be moved because of the friable nature of the sandstone. When the CEDAE team began to record the temple properly for the first time in 1961, under great pressure and with no other alternative available, they resorted to cleaning the temple with the scouring power of the alluvial silt of the river; a successful operation which restored the bright colours. During their work they found that the dromos had disappeared but that the ruins of a portal with clumsy images of Ramesses II remained. Further documentation took place from 1961 until the rising waters of the lake forced the final dismantling of elements of the temple which could be removed. The rest was submerged under the waters.

⁹⁸ Weigall 1907, 81.

Gau's plan pl. 27 (which is used in PM) shows a reconstruction in which the pylon up against the court is preceded by a terrace with four statue bases backing on to it, and there is the beginning of a dromos. The CEDAE team found the remains of a sandstone sphinx but could not determine its original location.

Only part of the foundation of the west face of the pylon remained in 1961.¹⁰⁰ It was possible that it might originally have extended north and south to the extremities of the temple as Gau showed in his reconstruction. (The pylon referred to here is that immediately before the court as seen in Gau's plan, i.e. the gateway to the court, and not the one mentioned by Champollion.) It can also be seen in Gau that the architrave joining one of the pillars to the facade of the speos remained, although it was already in an unstable position.

Ricci's diary of their outward journey notes that they arrived at 'Ghirsi Hassan' one hour after midday, on a light north wind, on 30 December 1818. He made 'Disegni della scavazione' no doubt meaning drawings of the speos, rather than of excavations. They remained there the following day and it was hot and windless. They left at daybreak on the 2 January 1819.

Bankes notes, almost illegibly, in the Album, II, 54-56 that he found near the village an inscribed fragment of sandstone, about 5" long (which he copied into the Album), which was 'interesting as being the sole morsel of Greek characters that I have met with there'. East-north-east, at less than a quarter of a mile away, he found the remains of a brick-built 'church' and opposite the temple on the east bank, 'a very considerable city in ruins'.¹⁰¹

He reports finding '3 pairs of sphynxes not all alike - 1 colossus fully intire...¹⁰² head & mitre of another, perhaps from the peristyle rolled down - there was certainly a flight of steps but I suspect not a wide one... The latter[?] part[?] [...?] a sort of gateway may be seen... Immense antiquity apparent throughout - the building dropping to pieces from decay even in the very interior rooms... the surface was never smooth - yet the style of sculpture is not bad except in the colossi & some of these in the interior - the 2 L hand on entry is not so bad... the doors... all have bolt hole.'

Mr Legh was 'quite mistaken about the round part at the ends of the side-chambers'. The four figures in the Sanctuary were not as described by Strabo, and 'the temple too old to be of Serapis as Mr Legh has suggested'.

Bankes drew '2 wooden Dovetails taken out from the upper part of the [?] of two of the great interior colossus...covered with plaster... it is most surprising that such a fastening should be thought sufficient to retain such masses in their place'. He also

⁹⁹ Jaquet and El-Arichie 1978, Preface, III.

¹⁰⁰ Jaquet and El-Arichie 1978, pl. II a-c, III a and XLII.

¹⁰¹ Probably he is referring to the Christian monastery (Weigall 1907, 83) and to the ruins of an ancient town at the village of Kirsh, opposite Gerf Hussein (Weigall 1907, 85).

discovered and made a small sketch of 'a large squatting statue - mutilated - lies close to the peristyle without'. This is probably the statue now in Berlin Museum, N° 2283; PM, 36, of Setau, Viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II and responsible for the building of the temple.

For the purpose of comparison, the following volumes of the CEDAE publication have also been used: El-Tanbouli and Sadek 1974, El-Tanbouli et al. 1975, El-Tanbouli et al. 1978.

ANALYSIS

The forty-one drawings constitute a very comprehensive record of a temple which is now entirely lost, including a large number of views showing the position of the temple in its environment. A number of the views are by Bankes and probably some, if not all of these, date from his first journey. VIII. B. 36-41 give some particularly interesting views of the interior of the temple. Unfortunately, the angle of most of the external views, taken from below the hill, obscures a clear view of what remained directly in front of the temple (Gau's hypothetical remains). However, VIII. B. 26 and 27 do show the area near the Nile where blocks of stone may represent the ruined 'portal'. Bankes speaks of three sphinxes but only shows sphinx fragments in VIII. B. 30, 32 and 33, although VIII. B. 32 shows blocks which may relate to the sphinx avenue. Bankes' steps in front of the peristyle could perhaps relate to the small sketch on VIII. B. 21.

The two drawings of the colossal royal statue are not included in PM who give a Hay drawing reference for what is probably the same statue as is shown here in VIII. B. 8 and 13. PM also gives VIII. B. 42 as a view here, but it is actually of es-Sebua so has now been re-numbered.

There are two drawings in exactly the same style as other copies from Salt, but only one of these is so marked. They are presumably by Linant.

Not much of the hieroglyphic text is copied in detail. There are some omissions and errors in the drawings and nothing previously unrecorded was found.

DAKKA

Introduction

Dakka temple, like Dabod, is the result of collaboration between Meroitic kings of Nubia and Ptolemaic kings of Egypt.¹⁰³ It lay on the west bank close to the Nile, 20 km from Gerf Hussein and 105 km from Aswan, in an open sandy area which was probably

¹⁰² See VIII. B. 8 and 13 (verso).

cultivated land in ancient times. The hills there were set back from the river.

Bankes correctly observed in his Album, II, 60-73, 'Dakka is probably Pselchis'. This Greek name came from the Egyptian name for the town, *Pa Selk* 'The Abode of the Scorpion'. The remains of the ancient town lay around the temple. Bankes noted that 'few of the ruins above the cataract show as much remains of a town'. At the site were found the names of an Amenemhat of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of Thutmose II, III, and Seti I; evidence of continuity through the Pharaonic period. The present temple was built by the Meroitic king Ergamenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy II, III, and IV. He constructed what is now the central chapel and the temple was embellished by Ptolemy IV who added reliefs and the cartouches of his father Ptolemy III, his mother Berenice, his sister and wife Arsinoë III, and his daughter Arsinoë IV. The Inner Court was added by Ptolemy IX. The temple contains many Greek inscriptions (which Bankes copied into his Album). The sanctuary was built by an unidentified Roman Pharaoh.

Bankes records that 'the name [Pselchis] occurs in one mutilated inscription on the Propylon which seems to refer to the expedition against the Queen Candace¹⁰⁴ in the reign of Tiberius...' Dakka had been the site of a great battle between the Romans and Meroites in 24 BC. According to Strabo, the Meroites were forced to flee to a nearby island when Nubia was invaded by a Roman army which sacked Napata under the leadership of Petronius.

Despite the name of the town, the scorpion goddess Selket is not found in the reliefs and the temple is dedicated to Thoth of Pnubs, although many other Egyptian gods also appear.

The pylon was approached from a rectangular terrace and avenue (barely visible to Weigall) 55 m long 5 m wide with masonry walls each side. Only the reliefs inside the pylon on the east side remained. Between the pylon and the temple an open space of about 10 m had originally contained some construction.

The main temple consists of an *enfilade* of four main chambers on a central axis; a Forecourt, an Inner Court, a Chapel of Ergamenes, and a Sanctuary. The first three of these were in ruins in 1907, and the enclosure wall destroyed. Evidence pointed to a temple of Thutmose III having existed at the site. The pylon contains chambers and staircases leading to the roof, and there is an internal staircase off the Inner Court of the temple. Off the chapel of Ergamenes is a small Roman chapel.

There were pan-grave and Graeco-Roman cemeteries about 1.5 km behind the temple (all had been robbed-out by 1907). Tumuli in the hills containing contracted burials dated from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

By 1907, local digging of the foundations had damaged and destroyed parts of the

¹⁰³ The following information is found in Weigall 1907, 85-89, unless otherwise specified.

¹⁰⁴ It is now known that Candace was not one particular individual but the term used for the Meroitic Queen.

temple and as a result the ground was covered with loose blocks. Only fragments of Christian frescoes from the conversion of the temple to a church remained.

By the time of its Unesco rescue, the temple was flooded, except during the inundation period when the water-level was lowered, and therefore only a short period of time was available for the work of removing the stones and investigating the site. From 1961 Dakka was dismantled by the Egyptian Antiquities Service and transferred with the temples of Maharraqa and Wadi es-Sebua to a new location near the original site of the latter.¹⁰⁵

Norden visited the temple on 30 December 1737 (he called it Ell-Guraen).¹⁰⁶ Burkhardt was there on 26 February and 27 March 1813. Legh describes the temple, where he recorded some of the Greek inscriptions on 28 February 1813¹⁰⁷ and Light, who visited it on 22 May 1814, also describes the temple and includes a drawing of the facade.¹⁰⁸ Belzoni, who visited in June 1815 or 1816, describes the temple and observed that the sandy plain was formerly cultivated. 'A stratum of vegetable mould is visible, three feet under the sand on the banks of the Nile...' He also noted the doorway which broke through the back of the Sanctuary.¹⁰⁹ Irby and Mangles passed Dakka on June 21 1817, and on August 6 visited the temple in the evening, noting that only one chamber had stucco and painting.¹¹⁰

Gau took precautions against attack there in the winter of 1818-19. He collected some Greek inscriptions and made several drawings and plans, although he does not describe the temple in his text. His groundplan of the site shows a vast area in front of the temple which he has hypothetically reconstructed from the remains. He shows a huge symmetrical building complex which includes a series of long chambers.¹¹¹

Ricci's diary for 2 January 1819 on the outward journey says that they arrived at Dakka on a strong wind two hours before dusk on a very cold evening and began their drawings. The next day was very cold with the same strong wind, and the night was even colder. On the 4th, 5th and 6th the weather continued the same, and they continued to draw. They left an hour before dawn on the 7th, arriving at Sebua half an hour after dusk.

The drawings have been examined against the work of Roeder 1930.

¹⁰⁵ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 10, 135-7.

¹⁰⁶ Roeder 1930, 1-8, from where the following details are taken, gives a comprehensive list of visitors to Dakke, as usual excluding Banks.

¹⁰⁷ Legh 1816, 64, 84.

¹⁰⁸ Light 1818, 69-71.

¹⁰⁹ Belzoni 1822, I, 113-4.

¹¹⁰ Irby and Mangles 1823, 7, 98.

¹¹¹ Gau 1822, 6, pls. 35-38.

ANALYSIS

Of the thirty-nine drawings, quite a few show details which are now destroyed. VIII. C. 1 records text destroyed (although recorded by Champollion); VIII. C. 3 records an upper register now lost but it is unfortunately a very rough sketch. VIII. C. 5 records reliefs much destroyed. Champollion gives part of the text but all of it is given here (see Appendix B as this may be the only full version made). Similarly the relief of VIII. C. 6 is now destroyed and Roeder only cites Champollion and Lepsius for the text which again seems to be shown in full here. VIII. C. 7 shows the entire relief; the lower part is now missing, and VIII. C. 8 and 17 show missing details of text and relief. PM omitted the interesting rock drawings of VIII. C. 19, and also the views VIII. C. 26-9, perhaps because the temple is only just visible in them. VIII. C. 24 shows a pylon, east of the east entrances to the Inner Court, which is queried on a plan of 1842.

Bankes' 1815 plan and description, VIII. C. 25, shows his very astute and concise observation of the different stages of temple building. The enclosure wall and structures are shown clearly and more is shown than was recorded by Saint-Ferriol (Roeder 1930, Taf. 167). Saint-Ferriol reconstructs a sphinx avenue before the pylon corresponding to Bankes' stone blocks marked in red which represent his hypothetical obelisks and statues. Bankes also shows the remains of something similar (spaced blocks rather than a continuous wall) running between the small east pylon and the temple. The remains of this small east pylon can also be seen in Linant's view, VIII. C. 31.

VIII. C. 30 may show a separate structure to the right of the temple; however nothing of this kind appears on the other views, except for VIII. C. 31 and that seems more likely to be the remains of the enclosure wall.

Four previously unidentified drawings from the Miscellaneous section have now been renumbered for Dakka as VIII. C. 35-38, and of these, VIII. C. 38 appears to be a unique record of a lost scene. VIII. C. 39 was previously misattributed to Dendur.

QURTA

Introduction

Qurta was on the west bank about 3 km south of Quban, and opposite the large island of Dewar.¹¹² Although the temple dates from Ptolemaic or Roman times there is evidence to show that there may have been continuous occupation of the site as there are Middle Kingdom cemeteries nearby and inscriptions of Thutmose III have been found. It appears that there may have been a string of Roman settlements between here and Dakka (about 5

¹¹² The following information comes from Weigall 1907, 92.

km away) and that Qurta and Pselchis (the Roman name for Dakka) may have formed one city. There are the remains of a town, a ruined temple, and cemeteries.

By 1906-7 the temple was reduced to a single rectangle, one block high, and there were no inscriptions to date it or show which deity was worshipped there. Weigall suggested that the temple should be cleared before it was submerged so that it could be seen whether it covered an original building of Thutmose III. According to PM, 50, the Roman temple was built on the site of a New Kingdom temple.

This is the temple which Gau describes as 'Kesse' (Gau 1822, pl. 39) and Bankes comments (Album, II, 92) that 'Kassie is by many called Goorty'.

According to Ricci's diary for 2 January 1819, they arrived at 'Cassi' on their outward journey after visiting Gerf Hussein, visited the temple but left for Dakka after only one hour.

Bankes Album II, 76, mentions 'Kassie' after Dakke and Maharraqa and writes that 'At Kassie[?] a wretched[?] Greek or Roman bust of Jupiter Serapis in sandstone was brought'.

ANALYSIS

The temple at Qurta is now destroyed. Of the four drawings, only one had been identified by PM, although Qurta was suggested for VIII. D. 4.

MAHARRAQA

Introduction

While the actual village called Maharraqa is on the opposite bank 'some distance away', the ruins of the temple of that name were just south of the village of Ofendineh, on the west bank, and the temple was also known under this name.¹¹³

It lay about 10.5 km above Dakke and 116 km south of Aswan on 'a slightly elevated plateau' above the low sandy west bank in a 'bare and desolate' area with only a few trees between the temple and the water. Weigall found it 'in a pitiful state of collapse' and feared the walls would fall at the first rise of the water level.

The exact date of the temple is unknown but it belongs to the late Roman period. The Roman town was called Hierasykaminos, and marked the limit of the Dodekaschoinos (the territory which stretched from here north to the First Cataract).¹¹⁴

The Roman name shows its link with Dakka, where the chief god was Thoth of

¹¹³ This information and the following from Weigall 1907, 93-5.

¹¹⁴ When the Romans defeated the Meroitic attack in 25-24 BC the Dodekaschoinos came under Roman control and the treaty of Samos established a permanent frontier at Maharraqa. See Taylor 1991, 48.

Pnubs ('the place of the sycamore') since Hierasykaminos also means 'the holy sycamore'. At Dakka the baboon symbolising Thoth and seated under the sacred sycamore tree appears in the Sanctuary base reliefs. At Maharraqa, Isis is seen seated under a sycamore tree, while Thoth stands nearby. Weigall therefore identifies this site as the Pnubs referred to in the hieroglyphs.

Weigall has great difficulty discerning even the plan of the temple from its ruined state; assuming (incorrectly) that all the pillars of the small hall had screen walls but guessing (correctly) where the main entrance had been. Like Bankes he notes that the spiral staircase at the north east corner was a unique feature for an Egyptian temple.

There was the isolated standing wall of a structure between the temple and the river on which a remarkable relief in a mixed Egyptian and Roman style remained (see VIII. E. 1-4). Weigall could barely distinguish the original form of this structure, related to the main temple, which was already in a ruined state when Bankes made his drawings and plans of it. A Greek inscription on one of the columns said that the temple was dedicated to Isis and Serapis and there were some Coptic inscriptions written in red paint.

Weigall thought that the temple could not be saved and that in any case saving the columns would result only in 'an eighteen columned colonnade of secondary historic and artistic value as the result of one's work, and this seems hardly worth the expense'. He did however recommend full publication.

Following Maspero's report, the temple was substantially reconstructed by Barsanti in the face of the consequences of the early barrage. The final rescue of Maharraqa began in the summer of 1961.¹¹⁵ It was carried out by the Egyptian authorities using their own financial and technical means, sometimes in collaboration with international experts. The costs were met by the High Dam authorities and other Egyptian funds. It was eventually re-erected with Dakka and Wadi es-Sebua, near the former site of Wadi es-Sebua. The isolated wall with reliefs was moved to Cairo Museum.

Norden did not see the temple but it was described by Burkhardt,¹¹⁶ drawn by Burton and Gau, and photographed by Ducamp.¹¹⁷ According to Ricci's diary, Bankes' party do not appear to have stopped at Maharraqa on their outward journey.

Bankes recorded the Greek inscriptions at Maharraqa and attempted to restore parts of them.¹¹⁸ He compared the position of Maharraqa with the position of 'Hierasacamemnon[?]' on the Antonine Itinerary and was 'inclined' to conclude they were the same. Regarding the Roman name of the town he thought it 'may be carrying conjecture too far to suppose it [the sacred sycamore tree] represented by that tree under which the female figure is represented reclining or to suppose that the open peristyle of the

¹¹⁵ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 135.

¹¹⁶ Maspero 1911, 9-10 gives early visitors to the temple; e.g. Burkhardt 1822, 92-94.

¹¹⁷ The images are reproduced in Maspero 1911 as pls. VII, VIII, and IX.

¹¹⁸ Bankes Album, II, 58.

temple stood round it'. He remarked on the Christian painting of two peacocks in an altar niche; 'a bird which never occurs in more ancient Egyptian painting'. In a village 'a mile below Maharraga'¹¹⁹ is a man who has a standing figure of dark granite with white spots broken only in the legs. The style not bad, but no great finish & the surface impaired'. However when Bankes wished to draw it he was obstructed by the local men; 'the object was to get money. The fragment measures about 2ft 6 inches high, it had been buried in sand but dug up & removed to prevent its being seen without paying. The owner said that he found it in the Nile.'

His description of Maharraqa continues: 'sculpture in a very strange style on the fallen wall [this seems to refer to the main temple] - unusual figure with lion[?] hair[?] & fox ears[?]. is this Helios Serapis[?] - 2 lions with full face very different style from at Dakke - square plinths to the bases unique in an edifice - an example[?] in the sanctuary of the quarries at Gartassi'.

The Album notes continue with a detailed description of some 50 or 60 'foundations' which Bankes concluded were probably tombs rather than habitations and seem to correspond to structures in the same area where Weigall noted cemeteries.

After Bankes' return to England Linant was sent back to Maharraqa in order to bring back the granite platform from the site to furnish a base for the Philae obelisk.

ANALYSIS

Bankes' references to finding reliefs are somewhat unclear and his Album notes unfortunately very difficult to read. The two full-face lions referred to in the Album do not appear among the thirteen drawings here and it is possible that they may be those shown on VIII. A. 24. This drawing, although titled twice as Maharraqa, has been attributed by PM to Dendur although their equating it with the lion relief from VIII. A. 6 seems doubtful. A lion-headed figure also appears on VIII. A. 24 which could be the second figure referred to in the Album.

From the evidence of VIII. E. 11, the authorship of Linant in conjunction with a watermark of 1808 shows that an 1808 watermark alone cannot be relied on to show that the work was done by Bankes on his first journey. However there are a plan and description and two other drawings dating to 1815. Ricci, no doubt with the help of others, was able to make an extremely detailed plan of the temple and the second structure in 1819 (VIII. E. 7). All the plans show the link between the two.

There are four drawings of the isolated wall. Some hieroglyphs are shown on VIII. E. 3 but perhaps these may be schematic only. For the offering table VIII. E. 5, PM gives this drawing as the only reference. A previously unidentified view, VIII. E. 13, has now

¹¹⁹ Bankes Album, II, 76. Since he says that; 'opposite to that village a large sand island' this might be

been numbered for Maharraqa.

WADI ES SEBUA

Introduction

The Nineteenth Dynasty temple of Wadi es Sebu, 'the valley of the lions', lay on the west bank, 155 km above Aswan on open ground near the river.¹²⁰ The ruins of the ancient town, which continued through to the Roman period, were at the river's edge in front of the temple. The village was on the opposite bank. There was a rock shrine of Amenhotep III near the temple, and rock graffiti nearby showed that Egyptian officials and priests of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the Late Ramesside period had visited the town. Middle Kingdom or early Eighteenth Dynasty pottery was also found near the temple.

The large, part rock-cut, temple was built somewhat crudely by Ramesses II and was dedicated to Amun Re and secondarily to Harmachis and Ptah. Parts of the temple were covered in sand and inaccessible to Weigall. By the time of his visit the temple was in poor condition as well as being partly buried by sand and he supplements his description with the early nineteenth-century travellers' accounts.

The early travellers' records were hampered by the sand, and it appears that Bankes was the first to clear and record the interior of the temple and that following his visit the wind-blown sand quickly returned.

The approach had two statues of the king followed by an avenue of sphinxes up to the pylon with its colossal royal statues. The pylon gateway led to an open court with relief decoration. Each side of the court there were roofed side galleries running behind five pillars with colossi standing against them.

Cut into the rock behind the court were a vestibule leading to a transverse antechamber off which were the main sanctuary and four other rooms. At the rear of the sanctuary was a niche containing three statues of Ramesses II, Amun, and Harmachis. When the temple was used as a Coptic church a fresco of St. Peter was painted on the centre of the rear wall; the two reliefs of Ramesses II remaining each side now appear to be offering bouquets of flowers to the saint.

Following Weigall's report, four months of consolidation and restoration took place in 1908-1909. The work of recording the temple, by Gauthier,¹²¹ was carried out in the brief space of two months in 1909 and therefore he was unable to make as detailed a photographic record as he would have wished. Gauthier considered that the temple was built late in Ramesses' reign. Many monuments to Setau, the Viceroy of Kush, were found and he therefore had probably been responsible for the construction and inaugurated the

Qurta.

¹²⁰ This and the following information comes from Weigall 1907, 97-99.

¹²¹ Gauthier 1912.

building in year 44 in the absence of Ramesses who was perhaps too old to make the long journey.

Gauthier considered that the colour of the earth indicated a change in the course of the Nile and that originally the river had reached the dromos. He says there was no quay. The nineteenth-century travellers attributed the dark colour of the ground at the east of the temple to the plain having been cultivated in ancient times before becoming desert.

Gauthier quotes the early travellers' accounts extensively. So much had been lost and damaged that these accounts were the only way of discovering what had originally existed at the site.¹²²

Rifaud, despite clearing some of the sand, had been unable to make a complete plan of the interior rooms but writes that Salt and 'Beinks' had succeeded in visiting the interior rooms and seeing the sculptures and paintings with ease.¹²³ Being unaware of the existence of Bankes' archive, Gauthier laments that 'Nous devons donc déplorer que ni Salt ni Bankes ne nous aient laissé aucun récit de leur visite et de leur travaux sur ce site.' Gauthier, equally unaware of the date of Bankes' visit, was mystified as to when the temple had been cleared, particularly as wind-blown sand always returned to cover the temple almost immediately. Cailliaud also noted that Salt and Bankes had uncovered the temple.¹²⁴ Unable to gain access to the interior in 1822 because of the sand, he remarks that it would only have been to satisfy his personal curiosity since he was convinced that the sagacity and erudition of M. Salt had left nothing for him to glean there.

Norden, in 1737, had noted the remains of walls which he thought signalled earlier vast constructions at the site. Legh, in 1813, had been unable to see more than the pylon and sphinxes and nothing beyond the court, nor was Burkhardt able to penetrate the interior in 1813. Light visited in 1814 and Belzoni in 1815; neither obtained access to the innermost rooms. Irby and Mangles also found entrance to the interior impracticable.¹²⁵

Gau followed closely behind Bankes and seems to have profited by the latter's excavation work. He found the indication of steps at the gate of the propylon, the remains of a terrace between the sphinx alley, and the bases of sphinxes. He did not discover the brick pylon and this put out his estimate of the number of sphinxes. He reckoned that there were sixteen sphinxes and this view lasted until 1909 when it was discovered that there had only been twelve. Gau's six steps on the platform of the pylon never existed although there were steps at the base of this platform. No trace of Gau's 'A', an 'esplanade carrée en avant du *dromos* à l'est' was found by Gauthier.¹²⁶ Gau did not find the door at the south of the inner court, was inexact about the form of 'banquettes' either side of the steps from the court to the vestibule, and omitted all the elements of the church; reconstructing

¹²² The following traveller's accounts are taken from Gauthier 1912, Introduction, x.

¹²³ Rifaud 1830b, 266.

¹²⁴ Cailliaud 1826, III, 266.

¹²⁵ See Gauthier 1912, introduction, for all these references.

six Osiride statues and three niche statues, all of which were destroyed when the building was converted to Christian use. He also missed the brick enceinte wall, the brick stairs leading to the roof of the end rooms, and all the structures within the enceinte. He correctly noted the emplacement for four colossi against the pylon, and also the north corridor. Gau showed a falcon with outstretched wings, of which Gauthier found no trace, below the niche in the sanctuary. Surprisingly, neither Champollion (who thought the quality of the work poor) nor Rosellini, entered the inner rooms of the temple. Gauthier shared Champollion's opinion of the temple, considering it 'le plus banal de tous ceux que le Grand Ramsès fit élever entre la première et la seconde cataractes.'¹²⁷

In the original 1955 report by Egyptologists and engineers on the possibility of saving the monuments, only the statues of this temple were to be cut out and preserved. However, in the event, the whole temple was cut out and dismantled and in 1964 it was moved to a higher level near its former site where it now stands together with the temples of Dakka and Maharraqa. The USA contributed to the salvage and the work of re-erection was carried out with Egyptian resources. The Egyptian Antiquities Service carried out excavations at the site.¹²⁸

Bankes' description of Sebuia, while lengthy, is as usual disjointed and barely legible.¹²⁹ (It follows a description and measured plan of a Christian structure an hour north-east of Maharraqa.)

'SW. by S of the temple - 2 or 300 yds - what seems to have been a small propylon with 2 lions sitting up before it - near there I imagine from the state of the surface which is very uneven & dug for manure & strewn over with some (tho not very much) pottery - was the ancient city - of no very great extent - some other stones here & these have hieroglyphs. In excavating at the back part of the interior[?] of temple found in the wall a singular vitrified[?] substance.'

He then describes the gate of the propylon, its door and hinge, and makes comparisons with the Ramesseum and Philae. He also noted a mitred sphinx on the relief of the inner face of the propylon and that at least one of the avenue sphinxes had a mitre which now lay 'detached on the sand'. On the architraves he saw the remains of plaster which he notes was generally used when the stone was of a poor quality. Of the architecture he remarks that '...the earliest Egyptian architecture began not from wooden construction but from grottoes...'

'Jan.y. 8th [1819] attempted...[?] the opening of the temple - by an examination of the roof it was plain that by clearing the great door we should obtain nothing since it was usual that the greatest part of the roof of the Pronaos was fallen in excepting the end

¹²⁶ Gauthier 1912, xiii.

¹²⁷ Quoted in Gauthier 1912, xliii.

¹²⁸ All the above from Säve-Söderbergh 1987.

¹²⁹ Bankes Album, II, 78-82.

stone[?], and one of the side aisles intirely & some of the others partially - or so cracked as to give no hope of finding it empty of sand [therefore] after clearing sufficiently to ascertain the proportions of the entrance doorway we proceeded to dig in the centre of the end of the great chamber & with 20 men at work towards evening succeeded in entering - it gave us access to 6 chambers which resemble in their disposition & some details to a certain degree those of Girshe - Derr - & at Ipsambul. The altar standing as at Girshe & Ipsambol - statues in end niche have been cut out intirely, from the abhorrence of the Greeks to [...?] sculpture & in the place is St Peter as fresh painted as the 1st days. ceiling[?] of the sekos carved[?] scenes[?] - boats on side walls as at Girche. at the ends of lateral chambers raised benches as at Girche Derr &c - were not these places of sepulchres? The whole sculpture in a good plain[?] style but thin[?] of ornament & [?] the Greeks [illegible section]... I ought to have mentioned[?] that at the level with the architrave of the entrance door a curved wall of brick was found which [...illegible] would prove a X altar - above it in the wall two holes had been cut in which we found some lumps[?] of a poem[?] stuffed in which no doubt had been round an inclosure[?]. In the doorway we found the altar cup of pottery - perhaps one of the most ancient existing[?] only small pieces of wood & rags[?] on the floor & palm[?] leaves[?] which fell to powder on being moved - many little saucers on the altar for lamps - quite black near St Peter - the wall much discoloured with smoke. In one lateral chamber a shallow pit - it is remarkable that there is one in the very corresponding chamber at Amada.' [A small ink plan shows the inner rooms including a dotted semi-circle at the entrance to the antechamber.]

'There is great appearance that the place was suddenly deserted or perhaps all massacred[?] as I judge from the things found. The lamps were ranged along the seat in the sekos where evidently were originally 3 deities sitting - wicks of these lamps were found - quite sound & intire though every thing wooden was quite reduced to powder. [He considered the 'altars' were to stand portable tables of offerings on.] - in one of the side chambers a large thick piece of pottery with a cross in relief, the material has much the appearance of being part of a coffin of pottery ware but both top & bottom are ascertainable[?] and it seems too shallow. The interior sculpture [referring here to the temple?] is cut in as well as that on the exterior which is not common - there is a crack in the ceiling (live rock of the transverse chamber which has probably contributed to its being filled so much with sand that it has even poured into the sekos - one of the side sanctuaries also has a hole in the ceiling that has let down sand that has raised quite a mount[?] in the room - charcoal was found with that yellow gum adhering to it which seems to have been used for incense. - the mummy pit [if this is the pit in the north sanctuary,¹³⁰ and see Finati's statement below] was nearly full - we cleared to the bottom - depth about [a blank

¹³⁰ Gauthier 1912, I, 238, says this pit was three metres deep, cut into the rock, and had been emptied of the matter it contained and refilled. He found nothing there. There was no corridor leading from the bottom and they were unable to make out its function.

left here] - bones were found in it & the upper part of a human skull so that it could easily[?] have served as a burial place but it is not easy to conceive that it was inhabited otherwise than as the entrance to a Catacomb since it is neither big enough nor wide enough to lay a body at full length & (in spite of Mr Legh's account) there is no example of bodies found upright either in Egypt or Nubia.' Bankes then discusses whether Strabo's(?) description of an unidentified Greek name fits this temple. In a further small ink plan he notes to each side of the steps leading up to the pylon terrace, a square (statue emplacement?) and to the right of the steps two rectangles; one marked 'sphinx removed by Lord Belmore' the other marked 'sphinx found by Mr Salt - there were never more than these two'.

Ricci notes that they arrived at Sebuia on the outward journey half an hour after sunset on 7 January 1819. During the evening the wind subsided and they made their first visit to the temple. On the 8th, early in the morning, they began the excavations to open the temple, and succeeded in opening it two hours after mid-day. The day was cold and windy but the wind subsided again in the evening. On the 9th he began his drawings; it was another cold day. He continued his drawing on the 11th and they left two hours after daybreak on the 12th.

Finati 1830, 310, noted that 'the body of the temple had almost disappeared in the sand, and that no entrance remained visible...' When they entered the sanctuary they found a row of 'little saucer-like lamps of clay' on the 'square altar' and that 'the chalice of red earthenware was on the ground very little broken'. In the north sanctuary, where there remained very neat Greek inscriptions and 'some rotten boards and a mat thrown over them', they cleared out 'a deep pit' but 'it led to no discovery' (see the 'well' of IX. A. 20 and Bankes own comments above in the Album).

ANALYSIS

In addition to the thirty-six drawings of Sebuia, Bankes' Album account is particularly valuable since he gives us a graphic description of his excavations and discoveries, and as we have seen, his party were the first early travellers to open and record the inner area. Bankes also astutely notes the resemblance of Sebuia to other structures of Ramesses II (IX. A. 27), and did not merely make a general distinction between the Ptolemaic/Roman and the Pharaonic types.

All the sanctuary scenes were still well preserved when studied by Gauthier. For the rest of the temple, Gauthier does not use the early travellers' material to fill gaps in his record. However, on checking against some of these sources as well as Gauthier 1912, Bankes does not appear to have recorded anything of the reliefs and inscriptions which is not recorded elsewhere. Nevertheless the collection contains some superb coloured views and reliefs and the latter show much of the colour in minute detail.

IX. A. 1 records a Coptic fresco omitted from PM, and IX. A. 2 records a statue now much damaged. Missing text which may be provided by IX. A. 5 has been recorded in Appendix B. A drawing by Beechey, VIII. B. 42, wrongly attributed to Gerf Hussein, has now been renumbered for Sebuia as IX. A. 36. Closely related to this are further detailed plans of Sebuia by Beechey which were omitted from PM and appear on the verso of Beechey's Abu Simbel drawing; XI. A. 13.

Watermarks of 1808 are found here on drawings from the 1818-19 journey, so cannot be used alone as evidence of Bankes' first journey.

A pylon south-west of the temple with two lions against it, which does not appear in the plans of either Gauthier or Gau, is both described by Bankes and shown on the plans IX. A. 21 and 23. This may be the pylon shown in the distance of Gauthier 1912, pl. XIV, B, which from his description is perhaps part of the enclosure wall.

SHATOORMAH

Introduction

There are no drawings marked Shatoormah in the Bankes Mss, but notes and plans appear in the Album. 'Shaturmeh', where Weigall found only rock drawings, was on the west bank between es-Sebuia and Amada, and there were no remains on the east bank between es-Sebuia and Derr.¹³¹ The remains mentioned by Bankes do not seem to correlate with those of Korosko (the terminus of the eight-day caravan route to Abu Hamid in the Sudan and the twelve-day journey to Berber) which he mentions separately as a walled, east bank site which 'has much the air of a station.' At Album II, 84, under the heading 'Shatoormah' Bankes drew neatly in black ink a measured cornice Egyptian-style but with the decoration of a rosette, also the upper part of an obelisk-shape 7" across the top with a 5" high pyramidion. He also drew the cartouche of Taharka which he found on 'a fragment', noting that the same cartouche occurred on the inner face of the 'little propylon at Medinet Abu' where on the outer face the name had been 'carefully scraped out' The almost illegible pencil notes appear to read 'Shatoormah [in ink] - much brick ruins...tombs... considerable [flat?] of sand at Nile's edge not in common character of the river.'

AMADA

Introduction

Amada temple was originally situated some 200 km south of Aswan on the west bank of

¹³¹ Weigall 1907, 100.

the Nile. According to the CEDAE study,¹³² although the ritual orientation of the temple is to the east, the course of the Nile here flows west-east, making it actually orientated geographically to the south-west.

Gauthier¹³³ states that the temple, consecrated to Amun Re and Re Harmachis, was constructed and decorated by three successive kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty: Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Thutmose IV. The unified style of the decoration therefore belongs to the finest period of Egyptian art. The six end rooms, the portico and the entrance door date to the first two kings, and the hypostyle hall was added later by Thutmose IV, probably by filling the space taken up by a simple courtyard. Gauthier found no trace of the pylon entrance (which was later restored).

The end wall of the Sanctuary of the temple contains an important historical text of Amenhotep II mentioning the fact that he had brought back seven captive princes from a war in Asia; six of which he slew by his own hand in Thebes while the seventh was hanged on the wall of Napata in order to strike terror into the hearts of the Nubian inhabitants. Atenists removed the name of Amenhotep II, which was restored by Seti I and the Nineteenth Dynasty pharaohs. The ruins of a small temple of Seti I were south-east of the temple towards the Nile. The name of Ramesses II is found on the entry door and Merneptah had a stela inscribed on the same doorway in his year 4 stating that he was the conqueror of Gezer (in Syria/Palestine) and had put down a revolt in Wawat (Lower Nubia). Barsanti found a stela of Seti II, and the pharaoh Siptah and Queen Tawosret left their names on the lower register of two sides of the exterior facade of the door to the vestibule.

When the temple was converted to a church, the Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs were covered with plaster, helping to preserve them. At some point between the Nineteenth Dynasty restorations and Christian times, openings cutting through the decoration were made between the two originally separate rooms either side of the sanctuary, giving access from one into the other. After the temple was converted, a cupola was built on the roof and this remained until 1860 or 1870. There appears to have been a monastery attached to the church which had exterior walls of brick.

Weigall¹³⁴ gives a good description of the relief decoration of the temple, and Gauthier 1913 gives a very full account of earlier travellers' descriptions of the temple (as usual excluding Bankes).

Weigall¹³⁵ describes the remains of the temple of Seti I as 'a square platform of hewn stone, which seems to have been the pavement of a temple. There are remains of fluted columns, and in two places the cartouche of Sethos I [Seti I] was seen. There are

¹³² El Achiery et al. 1967, Barguet and Dewachter 1967, Barguet et al. 1967, Aly et al. 1967, Černý 1967.

¹³³ Gauthier 1913, 1.

¹³⁴ Weigall 1907, 104ff.

¹³⁵ Weigall 1907, 107.

steps mounting between stone balustrades to the platform on its west side. The place requires to be excavated before more can be said...' It seems that what Gau 1822, pl. 48 hypothetically reconstructs in his plan as being the terrace of the temple was probably this platform seen by Weigall. Gau states (in notes adjacent to the plates): 'J'ai indiqué une terrasse *b* qui se prolonge jusqu'au fleuve, quoiqu'elle n'existe plus; je m'y suis cru autorisé par quelques restes de constructions et par l'exemple d'autres monuments...'

Barguet and Dewachter 1967, 2, notes that the Ramesside restorations were in a crude local style, perhaps by the same team who carved Gerf Hussein. A column base was found 4 m in front of the entrance doorway (El-Achiery et al. 1, cl. 8133) and also the earlier find of ramps of access, one 6.40 m long and 2.90 wide, in brick covered with stone. The path leading up to it measured 30 m.

Gauthier worked on the temple for three months in the winter of 1909-1910. He encountered difficulties in making a good photographic record because his equipment was not able to cope with the cramped inner rooms or the lack of light.

Further archaeological work in 1959, carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo and the Service des Antiquités d'Égypte in 1961 disengaged the ramp of access to the temple.

In 1965 the temple was moved to a site 3 km away and 60 m higher to preserve it from the waters of the High Dam. Fortunately its decoration had remained undamaged as it lay above the earlier water level. In a spectacular endeavour the entire rear section of the temple was moved *en bloc* on rails to avoid cutting the walls where the ancient joints had been plastered and painted over. During the reconstruction the ruined front pylon of brick was rebuilt.

Norden's drawing (reproduced in El-Achiery et al. 1967, pl. XXII) includes the Seti I temple.¹³⁶ Amada was visited by Legh on 25 February 1813 and Burckhardt on 25 March 1813 (the latter noted the foundations of the Seti I temple). Belzoni visited Amada in 1817, Rifaud perhaps just earlier, and Irby and Mangles on 5 August 1818. In addition to two plates giving views and plans, Gau, unusually for him, inserts two additional pages of description between his plates. However he was unable to record parts of the decoration as the temple was dark, and there were no workmen available to clear the sand. His 'terrace' (referred to above) of which Gauthier found no trace, is placed on his plan some 10m by his scale from the (hypothetically restored) pylon. Cailliaud stopped at Amada on his return from Meroë on 18 June 1822. Champollion's account is inexact and mentions neither the brick constructions, the Seti I temple, nor the cupola on the roof. Rosellini gives a rare description of a Coptic wall painting of Christ and angels at the end of the Sanctuary.

According to Ricci's diary they arrived at 'Madoo' [Amada] two hours before midday on 14 January 1819 on their outgoing journey and worked from then until they

¹³⁶ This and the following on early visitors, from Gauthier 1913, Introduction.

left Amada on the 18th for Derr.

Finati left a graffiti at Amada reading 'G--v--- Finati Ferrarese / 182(1?)'¹³⁷ Dewachter suggests 1821 for this but he is correct in noting that the party were riding their camels along the right bank of the Nile and it is clear from Linant's journal that they did not pass or visit Amada but were on the opposite bank on 21 August 1821. They returned the following year. Dewachter is incorrect in suggesting that Finati was with Bankes on another journey that year since Bankes was not in Egypt, and Finati remained with Linant. Another adjacent graffiti date of 1836 seems unlikely to belong to Finati since he was apparently by then retired from travelling and established in Alexandria running a lodging house for English travellers taking the new Red Sea steam route from Bombay.¹³⁸

Of the temple, Bankes¹³⁹ noted: 'No hieroglyphs outside either on the portico or body of temple... Doors... all opening R hand entry... some of the platebands through before Xtian times as is plain by a brick wall brought forward in two instances to support them & an inscription on a part that would have been covered by the cornish had that not fallen previously... Nearer to the Nile [blank space left here for the distance] from the temple - remains of another with bud columns - [the temple of Seti I] hieroglyphs on the abaci - I counted 9 of them more or less preserved - it seems to be of the highest antiquity & destroyed by the mere action of time.'

He noticed 'the footsteps of a large hyena very near our boats... figures in the paintings most delicately finished, portions are in relief in plaster - in one instance this has scaled off & the figure has been repainted & formed with a different outline.'

Of the entrance to the temple he writes: '...it is probable that this door was flanked with towers in the [?] of propylon[s?] tho' such a disposition as attached immediately to the pronaos is without example'. He adds regarding the decoration that 'all the intaglio painted plain yellow - all the rest is bright colour'. He compares the repeated cartouches, which he thinks may represent the name of the founder, with the use of a coat of arms or device as found in 'Gothic building'.

ANALYSIS

There are seventeen drawings from Amada, only two apparently from 1815. Amada Temple has been well-preserved and well-documented so that little is recorded that is not already known. Nevertheless there are two fine watercolour views (IX. B. 13 and 14), and detailed colour-work recorded on reliefs. There is also a full-sized tracing of a figure from a relief, which was an unusual technique for Bankes' party (IX. B. 9 and 10). Some small sections of hieroglyphic text from the drawings, missing in the CEDAE record, have been

¹³⁷ Dewachter 1971, 149.

¹³⁸ Letter from Lord Prudhoe to Bankes, HJ 1/352.

¹³⁹ Bankes Album II, 86.

copied into Appendix B.

The Bankes Album provides a good description of what he saw of the remains of the Seti I temple, and there are two drawings of plans, IX. B. 7 and 8, which may also relate to it.

GAMLAY

Introduction

PM, 39 gives 'Gamli', and 'Sahdab (Gamlay, Qumleh) opposite Kertassi' as two separate entries. On the PM map 1, Lower Nubia, both are shown on the east bank, Gamli directly opposite to Wadi Hedid (near Qertassi) and Sahdab a short distance to the south of it.

The ruined temple at Gamlay, now destroyed, was evidently situated on the east bank of the Nile in sight of Wadi Hedid on the opposite bank. Bankes' drawings of Wadi Hedid show the temple at Gamlay, and he identifies it in the description VI. B. 27. PM identifies 'Gamli' as the site mentioned by Roeder 1911, 120-1, but identifies 'Sahdab/Gamlay' as being the site of the following Bankes drawings (X. A. series). The verso of X. A. 3 shows a view of Wadi Hedid, and the site appears to be the one opposite Wadi Hedid. Presumably PM is correct in identifying two ruined temple sites of a similar name so close together here, but the use of phonetic spellings by the travellers adds to the confusion.

The ruins certainly contained a broken granite naos, this was described by Bonomi (according to PM at Sahdab) and also separately by John Hyde and by Bankes as being in the ruins which are opposite Wadi Hedid.

Bankes Album, II, 24, 'Gamlay', occurs between the pages for Dabod and Wadi Hedid. Page 24 contains various measured ink sketches of the remaining temple wall, a 'fallen cornish', a tambour, etc. Bankes accounts for the fall of the temple by the foundations being of 'mud'. He adds, '2 engaged columns were in front' and faintly in pencil below the ink notes, 'line of engaged columns diam 1-11'.

The site appears to be out of sequence here topographically because it follows the PM numbering sequence which deals with certain west bank sites before the east bank sites.

ANALYSIS

Three of the views of Gamlay are by Bankes, from 1815. A further view by Linant, previously identified as a Nubian fortress, has now been renumbered for Gamlay. Measured architectural details and another view are to be found in the Bankes Album.

QUBAN

Introduction

The town, fortress and temple of Quban were on the east bank, a short distance south of Dakka and about 108 km above Aswan.¹⁴⁰ (The sequence of sites here follows PM.) The magnificent ruined Middle Kingdom fortress was still in Weigall's time 'one of the most impressive sights in Nubia'.

The ancient name of the site was Baka or Baki, and a stela of Amenemhat III of the Twelfth Dynasty was found there. The fortress was probably built about the time of Senusret III in order to safeguard the caravans which set out from this point to the gold mines of the Wadi Allaqi. A stela of Thutmose III and the names of Horemheb and Ramesses II showed that the gold mining operations continued into the New Kingdom.

Less than a kilometre to the south of the fortress were the remains of a small temple. Little remained of this for Weigall to see, but it originally had a small hall with six columns, a sanctuary, and a courtyard excavated in the rock. However the temple, parts of which Bankes drew here, is not that referred to by Weigall but the temple of Ramesses II which lay outside the south-east corner of the fort.

Excavations in the 1930s¹⁴¹ showed Quban to be 'probably the most complete Middle Kingdom fortress in existence' that had then been found. An earlier fort, which probably dated from the opening of the gold mines by Senusret I, was discovered below the foundations of the main building. The report said:¹⁴² 'The inscribed material from Kuban was very limited and of little interest. Sufficient evidence remains, however, among the fragments to confirm the theory of the existence of a small Ramesside temple built within the fortress area'.

The Bankes Album II, 74, titled 'Coban', appears in sequence after Dakka. In pencil are various small, faint, annotated groundplans and details. On one plan, the corner passage in stone (referred to in X. B. 1) is said to be '29 feet long - 2.7 wide - 2.5 high'. A plan of the propylon has one face marked 'slaying figure' and is also marked 'colours visible' and 'figures behind large sitting figure'[?]. A groundplan of five columns forming a right angle is marked 'apparently very ancient[?]' and 'columns 20 facets[?] - few hieroglyphs'. There is a tiny sketch of an 'altar'. He also notes '5' within a small square outline and marks it 'bud columns'. PM, 83 identifies some of these plans as relating to the Temple of Amenemhat III, south of the fort.

ANALYSIS

There are an interesting description of the fort and two drawings by Bankes from 1815,

¹⁴⁰ The following information is from Weigall 1907, 89-91.

¹⁴¹ Emery 1931, 70.

¹⁴² Emery and Kirwan 1935, 55.

and a further drawing, by Beechey, which was previously unidentified. All contain information on the temple of Ramesses II. For the unidentified non-Egyptian inscription, X. B. 1, see Appendix B.

ABU HANDAL

Introduction

According to the PM Manuscript List, Abu Handal is north of Korosko. The two drawings here, marked as 'Abou Hamdau', are however omitted from PM.

The description, in Beechey's hand, states that the fortress which is the subject of both the drawings is to be found on the east bank of the Nile, at a village called 'Abou Hamdau', about an hour below Amada, and that it has walls remaining twenty feet in height.

The area of Abu Handal can be found in pls. 62 and 63 of Emery and Kirwan 1935, but although cemeteries are noted in the area, a fortress is not. The fortress of Quban, according to Emery and Kirwan 1935, had high walls remaining of mud brick but was not in the position described here, being too far to the north, and was separately described by Bankes. The area of Abu Handal abuts the area of Korosko to its east. Weigall 1907, 100-1 speaks of cemeteries and inscriptions but does not mention any fortress in the area. Randall Maciver and Wooley¹⁴³ show what they call a 'Nubian castle' on the left bank of the Nile (on the same side as Amada) between Korosko and Amada with a complex groundplan (pl. 5) which is difficult to reconcile with this plan. (They call the site El Gezireh, which is to be found at PM, 64, under Shablul). Since the river at this point flows from west to east, there might possibly have been some confusion for Beechey as to which side of the river his structure was found.

In Bankes Album II, 92, after describing Derr and in a general section where he mentions odd things about various different temples, Bankes adds 'about an hour below Amada an ancient walled site called [blank]'. Also, in the Album II, 84, Bankes gives the information that 'less than an hour below Amada on opposite bank is a walled site in ruins (it has much the air of a station...)'. This might imply that he is speaking of Korosko which was in fact an east-bank caravan station for the journey to the Sudan (according to Weigall 1907, 107, eight days journey to Abu Hamid and twelve days to Berber).

ANALYSIS

These two drawings by Beechey show a fortress which it is difficult to identify from other records but may be Korosko.

¹⁴³ Randall Maciver and Wooley 1909.

DERR

Introduction

The town of Derr lay 27 km above Amada and 211 km above Aswan on the east bank.¹⁴⁴ Weigall found the temple in a very poor state, due both to neglect and the faulty quality of the rock into which it had been cut. The temple was constructed by Ramesses II and dedicated to Re, Harmachis, and Amun Re. Ptah is represented as one of the sanctuary statues and Ramesses II is also shown deified. Scenes in the first pillared hall, now partially ruined, depict the battles of Ramesses II, while the reliefs within the second hall are of a religious nature.

The temple was documented between January and March 1910 by Blackman¹⁴⁵ who worked there single-handed, and also found it difficult to photograph the reliefs in the inner rooms. Derr was the largest township in Lower Nubia and was still in 1910 the administrative centre. Prior to the conquest of Mohamet Ali, Derr had been the seat of the Cashef, or local ruler, of the area between Shellal and Wadi Halfa.

The temple was set back some way from the river, behind the town. It contained two pillared halls, a sanctuary and two side-chapels. Except for parts of the first hall, all the chambers were excavated in the low cliff. Blackman found no trace of an open court or pylon.

With the exception of the sculpture in the first hall, the cut relief was clumsy and coarse, in particular the work in the two side-chapels. In the second hall and the inner rooms the technique was only to cut the outlines, and mould the rest in plaster, adding the final details in paint.

Blackman also noted the poor condition of the temple, and that the interior rooms had become blackened from the infestation of bats. The Osiride statues from the columns in the first hall and the statues of seated gods in the sanctuary had all been deliberately hacked out, and the wind-driven sand had destroyed most of the battle scenes in the roofless first hall, and stripped off all the painted plaster. In the first hall, were the remains of the rock-cut base which followed the natural profile of the hill. The original builders had added a masonry superstructure to this, but all the additional stone blocks had been quarried away.

In 1965 the temple was moved to a new position near the new site of the Amada temple and the tomb of Pennut from Aniba and it was studied by the CEDAE at that time.¹⁴⁶

They found a few traces of the courtyard but could not say whether the temple had ever had a quay, a dromos or a pylon. They were able to reconstruct the width of the court

¹⁴⁴ The following information from Weigall 1907, 110-112.

¹⁴⁵ Blackman 1913, from which the following information is taken.

¹⁴⁶ El-Achirie and Jacquet 1980.

from the south-east corner cut into the rock as a preparation for laying on the masonry levels. The north-east corner could then be reconstructed by symmetry. They noted that there had been numerous alterations to the temple from its conversion to a church.

The position of the Osiride statues, facing the entrance, was unique in Nubian temple design. The pillars were all considerably out of true and the second hall did not achieve a regular square shape.

Both Blackman and the CEDAE report noted that the course of the river, here running west to east, and the perpendicular axis of the temple to the river, gave the temple a geographic orientation north-south. The normal orientation of a temple would have been east-west. Both publications therefore adopt the 'conventional' orientation as opposed to the true geographic one, and this system has also been used here for the catalogue descriptions. Because of the orientation of the temple, the church was situated across the first hall in order to run east-west, and this no doubt accounted for the partial removal of the Osiride figures.

Early travellers noted by Blackman to have recorded the temple included Burkhardt, Light, Legh, Irby and Mangles, Rifaud, Gau, Cooper and Champollion.

Ricci notes in his diary for the outward journey that they arrived at 'Dery' two hours after leaving Amada and visited the temple on 18 January 1919. It was a windless day and they began their drawings. They left on the 21st, three hours after daybreak.

For Bankes' first notes in the Album, II, 88-90, see X. D. 15. He then jots down some brief comments on the landscape and river, Nubian houses, Nubian dress, a school, cultivation, and a tomb 'with 2 mummies[?] lying in it...'. He likens the First Pillared Hall reliefs to Beit el Wali, and the sanctuary boat reliefs to those of Sebuia and suggests that the smaller figures carrying the boat are intended to represent boys, adding 'nor is any instance in Egyptian sculpture is the character of a child otherwise expressed than as a little man'.

At the Album II, 90, under the title 'Derr' is a sketch of a doorway(?) and a measured groundplan of the sanctuary. At the Album II, 92, are some comments which include; 'The 4 gods at Derr are too much mutilated to be quite certain but believe them the same & in the same order with those at Ipsambol'.

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ANALYSIS

Bankes does not seem to have seen or described anything in the nature of a quay or dromos at Derr. Several of the thirty-one drawings and watercolours are by Bankes himself, and at least X. D. 2, and his plan and description X. D. 21 can be dated to 1815. Ricci made an excellent record of the interior reliefs and inscriptions and a highly detailed groundplan, X. D. 19, which shows some entrances missing from the CEDAE reports. A relief scene, X. D. 4, possibly by Bankes and now mainly destroyed, seems to be a more complete version than that given by either Champollion or Rosellini.

There are some particularly interesting views of the interior, both by Bankes and by Beechey. Bankes has also drawn plans of some nearby tombs in X. D. 15.

Four drawings, previously unidentified, have now been numbered for Derr as X. D. 28-31.

ELLESIYA

Introduction

The small rock temple of Ellesiya, excavated by Thutmose III, lay on the east bank of the Nile between Derr and Qasr Ibrim, about 220 km south of Aswan.¹⁴⁷ It was cut into the side of the cliff in the 'hills which rise precipitously behind the palms at a distance of about a kilometre from the river'. It consists of a facade behind which is a transverse chamber with a niche at the end of it. The facade bears the inscriptions of temple scribes and other officials. Along the length of the temple facade, Weigall found a line of small rectangular holes which he thought might have supported the wooden beams of a verandah; 'The ground level here was also raised in order to make the floor for the verandah.' The reliefs were in the best Eighteenth Dynasty style, but 'made filthy and evil smelling by bats'. The slightly vaulted roof of the chamber had fallen in, and the reliefs, on which no colour remained, could barely be made out. The recess contained 'three much damaged statues'. 'High up on the rocks, about 200 metres to the south of the temple' there was a chamber with a relief of a ram on the outside of it which lay about a metre from a shaft containing burial chambers. These seemed to Weigall to be too small for human remains so he thought they might be the tombs of the sacred rams.

The temple was studied and published in 1968 by the CEDAE.¹⁴⁸ In their preface they noted that the temple had never been published, although it was mentioned by certain of the nineteenth-century travellers. It is the most ancient rock-cut chapel known from Nubia having been constructed by Thutmose III in year 52 of his reign. The other sanctuaries ordered to be erected by this king in Nubia were built of stone blocks.

Champollion does not mention the temple, however his artist Nestor l'Hôte made a rapid and elegant sketch of the facade in his drawing book (now in the Louvre archives). Lepsius made some drawings and there are also some among the Hay Mss. Following the first raising of the old barrage, the temple was regularly under water for nine months of the year.

Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1968, mention that the Linant de Bellefonds Mss (presumably those now in the Louvre), include 'la trace de son passage dans le sanctuaire'.¹⁴⁹ The Bankes Mss appear only to contain three drawings, all of which are of

¹⁴⁷ The following information is from Weigall 1907, 113-115.

¹⁴⁸ Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1968.

¹⁴⁹ Desroches-Noblecourt et al. 1968, Preface, II.

reliefs and by Ricci so that this is presumably the plan of the temple mentioned in PM, 90; Linant de Bellefonds Mss A 62.

The temple was not included among those studied for the *Temples immergés* series.

The CEDAE study was begun in 1961, and further studies of the temple were completed in 1963 before it was offered to Turin in recompense for their help during the Unesco rescue operation. The temple arrived in Turin in pieces in 1967 and was reconstructed there.

There appears to be no reference to Ellesiya in the Bankes Albums. According to Ricci's diary they journeyed directly from Derr to Ibrim, arriving at Ibrim on 21 January 1819 at sunset on their outward journey. There is no mention of Ellesiya so the drawings were presumably made on the return journey.

ANALYSIS

The three drawings here appear to be part of a set by Ricci, all with a similar heading and drawn in the same style. They are numbered 1, 2, and 4, so presumably a further drawing is missing; it does not appear to be among the loose drawings in the miscellaneous section. The reliefs shown are those of the single register around the right side of the interior walls of the temple. One drawing, X. E. 2, appears to be a reverse image of the relief shown in Curto 1970.

QASR IBRIM

'a sort of Nubian Pompeii...'

Introduction

Today the great rock-spur site of Qasr Ibrim, once such a striking landmark, is largely hidden beneath the waters of Lake Nasser. The archaeological investigation of the site by the EES however continues, and today's visitor is presented with what is now a small island covered with many ruined structures.

An expedition, resulting in Caminos' study, was undertaken in 1961 to record texts and representations which would be lost under the lake.¹⁵⁰ Caminos had apparently seen the Bankes drawings of Qasr Ibrim and Finati 1830, and he refers to Bankes' activities.

Ibrim lay on the east bank of the Nile approximately 238 km south of Aswan. It comprised three massive barren headlands of sandstone, rising perpendicular to the river and separated by rocky mountain clefts. The central cliff contained the ruins of a fortified enclosure largely of Roman construction, the Latin 'Primis'. Qasr Ibrim means the fortress

¹⁵⁰ Caminos 1968.

or castle of Ibrim, the name of the local village.

The fortress was occupied by the forces of Petronius, the Roman prefect of Egypt under Augustus, in 23-22 BC, but later returned to the possession of the Meroites from whom he had conquered it. The Meroites were themselves ousted by a people known as the X-group and on the conversion of Nubia to Christianity, Ibrim became an important religious centre. It was a bishopric, and a large church was built within the fortress at the centre of the hill.

The Roman and later history of the site was well documented and was known to Bankes and other early nineteenth century travellers. The early history of Ibrim is less well documented. Inscribed blocks from Thutmose I to Taharka (i.e. seventeenth-sixteenth century BC) have been found there, but out of context.

The inscribed and decorated shrines are of New Kingdom date and cut into the west face of the cliff overlooking the river. Near Ibrim lay the rock-cut temple of Ellesiya, and to the south a monumental royal stela of Seti I. No settlement or cemetery of the New Kingdom period was discovered at Ibrim and the monuments appeared to be for 'commemoration and worship' only. However Ibrim was part of the locality of Mi'am (modern Aniba) on the west bank, which had been settled since early dynastic times and by the New Kingdom had become an important political and military centre, although no pharaonic monuments or records posterior to the New Kingdom have been found there. Aniba was probably the administrative headquarters of the viceroys of Kush and other officials commemorated at Ibrim.¹⁵¹

Camino's gives a thorough and detailed history of the exploration and recording of the site covering the period before and after Bankes' visits.¹⁵² The site was recorded by an anonymous traveller towards the end of the sixteenth century, but this manuscript was not mentioned in print until 1901, so would not have been known to Bankes or his contemporaries. Following this 'No European is known to have set foot on Ibrîm in the entire course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' and any references which did appear were second-hand and not the result of direct observation.¹⁵³ Legh, Smelt and Barthow arrived on 23 February 1813, but only spent a few hours there and Legh did not record anything in the Egyptian style.¹⁵⁴ Although Burkhardt examined the old fort on 3 March 1813, the shrines also escaped him since they were only visible from the river, and, like Legh before him and Light after him (26 May 1814), he was travelling by land. Camino's therefore refers to Bankes as 'probably the pioneer of epigraphic work at Ibrim. To him we owe a few sketches and hand-copies of texts in the shrines, as well as two drafts and a fair copy of the monumental stela of Sethos I on the cliff immediately south of

¹⁵¹ The above information taken from Camino's 1968, Introduction.

¹⁵² Camino's 1968, 8-20.

¹⁵³ Camino's 1968, 9.

¹⁵⁴ Legh 1816, 75ff.

the fort'. Caminos was unable to tell whether Bankes' drawings were made in 1815 or in 1818-19 or whether there were some from each journey, and he points out that the site is not mentioned in Finati's account of the second journey (Finati 1830, 301-344).

On Bankes' first trip, Finati 1830, 82, records that 'Ibrim is very unlike most other situations upon the Nile, being perched upon a very bold rock, in the perpendicular face of which are some small painted chambers so difficult of access that our traveller was drawn up into them by a rope round his body.' Bankes himself, as editor, adds the footnote, 'a temple (probably a small one) seems to have been perched nobly at Ibrim (Primmis) over the river; a part of a little double headed propyleum yet remains, which indicates the position.'

According to Ricci's diary they stopped for a single day at Ibrim on the journey out, arriving at dusk on 21 January 1819. He records 'travagli e disegni delle Grotte' for 22 January and they left two hours after sunrise on the 23 January.

Bankes' second journey description of Ibrim is in the Bankes Album II, 105-6. He compares the building techniques with those of Petra. Steps were cut into 'the face of the rock toward the Nile' and there was a 'walled path' but no access to the fortress on that side, the gate being 'near the old Propylon'. There are some comments on the wall, the cathedral, the terrain, and what he considered to be the remains of a monastery. He noted the resemblance between shrine 4 and the temple of Amada in the style, colour and the 'name', i.e. the cartouche. The remains of a village WNW of Ibrim on the opposite bank, then buried in sand, he thought was probably an ancient site, and beyond it about half a mile to the north was a granite tablet.

Between Bankes' two visits, two of the shrines were recorded by Rifaud, who was apparently travelling with Cailliaud and Drovetti in March-April 1816, and Belzoni and his wife looked into the shrines in September 1816. Irby and Mangles overlooked the shrines on their 28 June 1817 visit; the Belmore party did enter four of the shrines 27-28 December 1817 but 'did not find that they contained any thing particular'.¹⁵⁵ Gau, following close on Bankes' heels in 1819 also omitted the shrines.

In addition to the travellers mentioned by Caminos who made drawings or inscriptions of the site more or less contemporaneously with Bankes we must add the names of Frediani (1817) and Huyot (1819).¹⁵⁶

The excavation of Ibrim has produced a mass of material including 'a wealth of written sources on papyrus, parchment and paper, with texts in all languages used in Nubia during the later period...'¹⁵⁷ The chapels and many of the rock inscriptions and drawings were cut out and saved by an Egyptian team as part of the Unesco rescue

¹⁵⁵ Richardson 1822, I, 418, 465-6.

¹⁵⁶ Caminos 1968, 94.

¹⁵⁷ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 212-3.

process.¹⁵⁸

All the information given below on the shrines and on the stela of Seti I is from Caminos 1968, Part 3, The Record. (All shrine numbers used here are those of Caminos; the PM numbering of them is different and follows Lepsius 1849, Text).

Shrine 1

The shrine commemorates in part the viceroy of Kush, Nehy, who served under Thutmose III. It consists of a single rectangular chamber with a niche containing three statues in the rear wall.

See Caminos 1968, 35-43, which includes details of the career of Nehy.

Shrine 2

The shrine of Setau, viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II.

See Caminos 1968, 44-49.

Shrine 3

This shrine consists of a single rectangular chamber and dates from the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. According to Caminos it had remained in fine condition because of its elevated location on the sheer cliff. He found that it was difficult of access and consequently 'has even discouraged casual visits on the part of all but the most adventurous travellers' (such as Bankes).

See Caminos 1968, 50-58.

Shrine 4

This shrine commemorates the viceroy of Kush, Usersatet, and his king Amenhotep II.

The shrine consists of a single rectangular chamber with a niche having three statues at the rear (east) end. It is the largest of the shrine chambers. By 1961, the state of preservation was poor due to both natural and deliberate damage. The ceiling had been smoothed and decorated with a painted pattern.

See Caminos 1968, 59-75, including details of the career of Usersatet.

The stela of Seti I and Amenemope.

The stela is a large but incomplete rock-stela on the river side of the third rock-promontory of Ibrim (counting from the north) and lies slightly upstream of the shrines where the rock face is sheer and very difficult of access. The upper part of the stela has been broken off as

¹⁵⁸ Dewachter 1971, (Nubie - Notes diverses, §1.), 83, note 2, says that the majority of the reliefs and the four niches of the chapels were (in October 1970) to be found at the site of New-Sebua, while the stela of Seti I was removed to a new site south of the temple of Kalabsha. In this article Dewachter adds some remarks to Caminos's 1968 commentary, including some additional information on the early travellers.

the result of a natural accident.

The king is shown spearing a captive before a god with his waiting chariot and team of horses behind him; the wavy ground-line represents the hilly desert. At bottom left the figure of Amenemope the Nubian viceroy kneels in reverence and the columns of text in front of his figure include a reference to him.

See Caminos 1968, 83-89 including details of Amenemope's career.

Other than the shrines, the standing monuments recorded by Bankes consist of the fortress and the pylon from the Egyptian-style temple, considered to be Roman, situated on the northern peak of the rock. To understand what Bankes saw at Qasr Ibrim in the way of remaining structures one can compare Wilkinson's description¹⁵⁹:

'It [Ibrim] contains no remains of antiquity, except part of the ancient wall on the south side, and a building, apparently also of Roman date, in the interior, towards the north side. The latter is built of stone, the lower part of large, the upper of small blocks. Over the door is the Egyptian cornice, and a projecting slab intended for the globe and asps: and in the face of the fort wall is a perpendicular recess, similar to those in Egyptian temples for fixing the flag-staffs, on festivals. Just in front of this is a square pit, and at its mouth lies the capital of a Corinthian column of Roman time. The blocks used in building the outer wall were taken from more ancient monuments. Some of these bear the name of Tirhaka [sic], the Ethiopian king...'

ANALYSIS

Caminos acknowledges the great importance of Bankes' work at Qasr Ibrim since he was the earliest epigrapher at the site and left a very comprehensive and accurate record, in particular of the shrines and the stela of Seti I. Since the very thorough and accurate Caminos was one of the few modern Egyptologists to have been aware of, or to have had access to Bankes' work, there is probably less chance of discovering anything new from the material here. Nevertheless, through this study it has now become possible to separate the earlier 1815 material from that of 1818-19, which Caminos was unable to do, and in addition, a previously unknown, long and lively journal account of his early trip has now been identified; X. F. 33.

It is interesting that out of a total of thirty-three drawings of Ibrim, some nineteen of them can, with some certainty, be attributed to Bankes himself. This is a high proportion compared with other sites. Bankes was clearly fascinated by this spectacular place, with its monuments almost out of human reach. We even have a rare example of his hypothetical sketch of what it might once have looked like; X. F. 24. A combination of

¹⁵⁹ Wilkinson 1843, II, 323-4.

style-criteria, watermarks, and the fact that Ricci later redrew certain areas, makes an early date likely for many of the drawings. While his early watercolour views of the interiors of the shrines continue his practice of indicating rather than copying the texts, he also made some separate detailed copies. He also drew a Meroitic figure in X. F. 18, which PM wrongly assumed came from another site. The detailed ink plans, X. F. 20-22, are probably from 1818-19; both the style and the content are typical of this time. His watercolour views seem very likely to be earlier; this was not his forte and he would hardly have made so many with Beechey and Linant available.

Ricci made a series of fine watercolours of reliefs, X. F. 4, 5, 6, and 9, and recorded some details, lost by the 1960s, including the upper part of the relief shown in X. F. 4, and an unidentified item behind the throne in X. F. 6, which mystified both Champollion and Caminos.

The three drawings of the stela of Seti I in the collection, X. F. 15, 16, and 17 are all by Beechey. Two are preparatory and the third is a fair copy on paper watermarked 1819, so likely to have been made after the journey ended. We can now see from his own 'journal' description, X. F. 33, that while Banks saw the stela in 1815 he did not copy it at that time.

There are three very fine views by Beechey, X. F. 29-31, and a previously unidentified view by Linant, X. F. 32.

ABU SIMBEL

Introduction

At Abu Simbel, on the west bank of the Nile about 290 km above Aswan and some 60 km below Wadi Halfa, stand the two imposing rock-cut temples of Ramesses II, still evoking the 'awe & astonishment' experienced by Banks in 1815 (see XI. A. 89). The Great Temple, facing east, was dedicated to Re Harakhti and the deified Ramesses II, while the Small Temple, facing south-east was dedicated to Hathor and to Ramesses II's wife Nefertari. Threatened with imminent submersion under Lake Nasser in the early 1960s, they became the focus of the greatest of all the Unesco salvage operations. After many different schemes had been considered, they were finally cut out of the sandstone rock and reassembled higher up above the new water level against artificial cliffs; the work taking place between 1962 and 1968. They stand today, as much a triumph of modern civil engineering and the universal will to save the monument from destruction, as an impressive reminder of the power of Ramesses II and the skill and labour of the original feat of construction.

The ancient town of Maha once stood on the opposite bank.¹⁶⁰ The rocks at the temple site had been inscribed by a Thirteenth Dynasty king and his officials so that the spot evidently had some earlier religious significance in addition to providing a suitable area for the construction of a rock-cut temple. An inscription within the temple refers to the first year of the reign of Ramesses II, and the interior was apparently completed by his thirty-fifth year since no room was found to record his marriage to a Hittite princess and the stela recording this event had to be placed outside.

The four great seated colossi of Ramesses II, carved out of the rock-face, flank the facade of the Great Temple, and against the king's legs are statues of the queen and royal children. There are Greek, Phoenician, and Carian inscriptions on the legs of the colossi, and on the left leg of the second, broken and headless colossus is a Greek inscription of historical importance reading; 'When King Psammetichus came to Elephantine the companions of Psammetichus, son of Theokles, wrote this. They came by ship via Kerkis to where the river rises, Potasimto leading the foreigners and Amasis the Egyptians. Demerarchon son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos son of Udamos, wrote.' This is the inscription that Bankes uncovered, containing the important historical implications which he understood. It told him that Greek mercenary soldiers of the Egyptian King Psammetichus, involved in a Nubian expedition during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, had left their graffiti at a level which implied that the temple was already in disuse and partly covered by the drifting sands. Apart from what that told him about the date of the temple, it was also one of the earliest Greek inscriptions that had been found at that time, dating as it did to the 7th century BC.

A small doorway at the centre of the facade, below the striding figure of the hawk-headed Re Harakhti facing into the sunrise, leads into the Great Hall of the temple with its lines of colossal Osiride figures of the king. The hall is decorated with reliefs of his triumphs, including the representation on the north wall of the Battle of Qadesh; a vast panoramic record of the entire battle in lively and fascinating detail. The main axis of the temple leads through a Second Hall and Vestibule to the Sanctuary, at the end of which sit the figures of the gods Ptah, Amun, the deified Ramesses II, and Re Harakhti. Off the halls are eight Side-Rooms.

Even in 1907, in Weigall's time, the huge sand-drift running down between the two temples was once again threatening to block the entrance and cover the northernmost statues, so that it becomes less difficult to understand how Burkhardt, visiting the Small Temple in 1813, remained quite unaware of the presence of the Great Temple until he accidentally stumbled across it. When Bankes first visited the temple in 1815 he recorded what he could see of the exterior, but it had not yet been opened (see description XI. A. 81-2, drawings XI. A. 97-101, and hypothetical reconstruction XI. B. 34). This was

¹⁶⁰ This and the following description from Weigall 1907, 128-138.

achieved by Belzoni, in August 1817, with Beechey (representing Salt who was paying for the expedition), Finati as their dragoman, and Irby and Mangles, who had met up with them at Philae.

Bankes' second journey included a long stop of almost a month at Abu Simbel on the journey south and, according to Finati, three weeks of this were spent in excavating the whole of the southernmost colossus 'down to the very feet'; something which Belzoni had not done. The graffiti he found spurred Bankes on to uncover the legs of the second colossus and he was rewarded by finding the inscription described above. Finati says that their method was simply to move the sand back and consolidate it 'with immense quantities of water poured upon it', re-covering the exposed first colossus in the process. Despite Bankes' initial opinion that the sand could easily be carried to the Nile and thrown in, this method apparently did not turn out to be workable, and it was only possible to uncover the facade a section at a time. The inscription of the second colossus was copied and then itself re-covered by the clearance of the fourth head. They left the temple exposed by several feet more than they had found it, but in covering up the inscriptions he had found, whether deliberately or not, Bankes prevented Gau, who arrived only days after the party had left, from noting the most important inscription, despite his having been told its whereabouts by Huyot (who evidently met Gau between the discovery of the inscription by Bankes and Gau's arrival at Abu Simbel).¹⁶¹

Once inside the temple, Bankes' party braved the appalling heat by stripping off, and rigged up sufficient light to begin work. Finati reports 'As for the interior, that, during all the time of our stay, was lighted every day, and almost all day long, with from twenty to fifty small wax candles, fixed upon clusters of palm branches, which were attached to long upright poles, and, spreading like the arms of a chandelier, more than half way to the ceiling, enabled Mr. Bankes, and the other draughtsmen, to copy all the paintings in detail, as they stood, almost naked, upon their ladders.' The party, hard at work, received a visit from Mahomet Ali's son-in-law, 'the Defterdar Bey', governor of the upper country.¹⁶²

Ricci's account of their stay is laconic as usual but not without interest. According to his diary they arrived at Abu Simbel on 23 January 1819 and he began to draw the Small Temple the following day. By 27 January the Great Temple was opened since he began drawing there. They remained at the site until 18 February. As well as his usual brief notes on the wind and the weather, he mentions the 'partenza dei Francesi' on 8 February (the departure of the Frenchmen, perhaps Huyot and an unidentified companion?) and that, on that day, at ten o'clock, a large dead fish floated down the Nile and was eaten by the crew;

¹⁶¹ Huyot, the architect of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, was no doubt one of the Frenchmen referred to in Ricci's diary who left Abu Simbel on 8 February 1819 while Bankes' party remained there. Huyot returned north after this, where he presumably ran into Gau who would have been travelling in the other direction.

¹⁶² Abu Simbel is described in Finati 1830, 312-17.

‘alle ore dieci un pesce morto della lunghezza di 4[?] piedi è passato a flotto sul Nilo - preso dai marinari, e mangiato - alle ore 20[?] un altro molto piu piccolo...’ Banks himself also mentions this event in the Album, II, 113.

Banks’ own description of Abu Simbel in the Banks Album, II, 100-105, 110-116, is part of a lengthy section of quasi-journal made up of spontaneous, disjointed, and almost illegible jottings, written on the second outward journey. His speculations are interspersed with detailed references to classical and modern sources, which appear to have been added later. Themes such as his views on the Egyptian battle scenes or the Greek inscription of Psammetichus recur at several different points.

‘On the great battle scene Abousumbul’ he recognised that the fortress depicted the enemy but was less sure about the camp, although he knew that the shields that made up the palisades were Egyptian. He could not account for the non-appearance of the camel in such scenes, nor for the absence of elephants in battle, and he equated Qadesh, shown encircled by the river Orontes, with the Island of Meroë. He theorised about the battle tactics but recognised that the unrealistic representation of the ‘Hero’ alone in his chariot was due to iconographical reasons and was not to be accepted as factual. He noted similarities between statues from Abu Simbel and those in ‘the Capitol at Rome’.

He speculated on the orthography and antiquity of the various Greek inscriptions, particularly that discovered on the ‘left leg’ of ‘the colossus R hand of the great door... we have here an Inscription of the earliest possible period for one to be found in Egypt or Ethiopia...’¹⁶³

He quotes the ancient writers in an attempt to prove that ‘Egyptian Temples were places of sepulture’. Diodorus had also referred to Arabians, Carians and Ionians in Psammetichus’ army. The ‘Phoenician’ inscriptions from the leg of the seated colossus permitted him to date the temple prior to Psammetichus.

A graphic description of what was found on opening Abu Simbel for the first time in August 1817 was gleaned second-hand from Beechey who had been present, and written into his Album, headed ‘From Mr Beechey - of Ipsambol’. While Belzoni’s account¹⁶⁴ perhaps concentrates more on the efforts required to effect the entry than what they found inside, Irby and Mangles left a good description.¹⁶⁵ This account of Beechey’s, never apparently published by him, describes all the statuary which we can recognise from the account of Irby and Mangles. According to Irby and Mangles, all these items, excepting for a statue of a standing figure, which Beechey identifies as, ‘it represents the Hero... the surface is hardly injured yet the substance is quite gone’, were removed from the temple and loaded onto one of the boats. Beechey confirms Irby and Mangles’ account that the hawk-headed sphinxes were found ‘on either side of the door leading to the 2d

¹⁶³ Banks Album II, 103-4.

¹⁶⁴ Belzoni 1822, I, 333.

¹⁶⁵ Irby and Mangles 1823, 76-87. The section which parallels Beechey’s version is at 85.

chamber'. One was headless but 'near that which was perfect was a female sitting figure'. Interestingly, Beechey's wording of his account of the black deposit covering the floor is almost identical to the wording used by Irby and Mangles. Beechey (as reported here by Bankes) uses the phrase 'a light & black substance resembling decayed wood was found in every apartment. in some to the depth of 2 feet - & various pieces of timber which fell to dust on being touched.' Irby and Mangles' version reads, 'A light black substance, which seemed to be decayed wood, was found in every apartment, in some places of two feet...'

Bankes himself adds that 'Mahomet [Finati, who had also been present at the opening] tells me that a skull & some bones were found in one of the long rooms'.

Bankes notes at this time having 'heard of great mischiefs done by violent rain at Thebes - it broke into the new tomb [Seti I] - no doubt the wells [found in tombs in the Valley of the Kings] intended to remedy this'.

Of the Small Temple he thought it possible that the Sanctuary was used for the burial of sacred cows and 'dedicated to the goddess Athor[sic] who [?] says was worshipped as a cow.' He was struck by the fact that the female figure was predominant in this temple and in offering scenes, and he related this to the position of the 'Candaces of Ethiopia'. 'Mr. Salt tells us that a woman is the principal person thro'out one of the Kings Tombs at Thebes'.

He notes that only yellow, black, and red, were used in the Small Temple, as in many of the smaller chambers of the Great Temple. The colossal statues (or perhaps he is just referring here to their 'snakes', i.e. the uraei) 'retain vestiges of colour which were in the usual arrangement. The necklace was 3 red drops & then 3 blue or green, on a yellow ground, or blue & green alternately... the nostrils[?] were red & hieroglyphs yellow... In excavating the great colossus - holes found in the body as for beams that it is probable some shed or hut has been built in his lap. - fragments of red pottery found of a high quality... one of the altar stones found quite plain [here a small diagram perhaps of an offering table] such as one represented in one of the small chambers - in the same - one wall is not even painted & on the other the last figure inwards[?] is sketched in black & only a very small part cut in.' (See Ricci's comments in XI. A. 33.)

On the exterior of the Small Temple he saw remains of red and yellow paint, and 'on the top of the wall that engages the 2 last colossus-piers - is a mass of the black decayed matter - at least 2 foot in thickness standing up perpendicular as if it had been some chest or possibly wooden sarcophagus laid there'.

In the Great Temple 'Mr. Linon' copied a figure 'whose shoes are on his arm' (see XI. A. 11). 'The ground for all the paintings in the Pronaos & 2d & 3d chambers a sort of quaker grey - and walls of sekos yellow - sides of d°. reddish'. He postulated that a wooden floor might account 'for the stratum of black corroded stuff. An arm of the blue god [one of the sanctuary statues] came off while I drew it' (see XI. A. 28). He recognised the presence of the 'Hero' among the Sanctuary statues being the king worshipped as a

god. Diodorus had said this was the Ethiopian custom. The hieroglyphs on the 'seats' and frieze of the facade colossi had all been yellow '& the little figures the same outlined in red - the great colossuses were[?] probably red - a strange effect they must have had... 2 very large fish found dead floating down the Nile [see Ricci's diary above] - a 3d a few days after - a vulture sitting on one, both stink[?] but eaten by the Nubians with relish - supposed killed in passing the Cataract... bought a lyre with 5 strings - wants nothing but the tortoise to be like the ancients...'

Regarding his own excavations he wrote: 'about the 14th day of working with 30 hands we reached the footstool of great colossus' (they do not seem to have excavated below this level). He was now able to see that the proportions of the colossi were very heavy but there was still a 'Most beautiful effect by moonlight (see XI. A. 100) the shadow cast on opposite direction from what it ever is by the sun.'

He speculates on the meaning of one of the Greek inscriptions, unsure whether it described elephant or ostrich hunting (adding that near Dendur a blown ostrich egg had been offered to them for sale).¹⁶⁶

Regarding the unusual presence of female colossi, he has inserted in red the note, 'One in the sea at Canopus which Sonnini¹⁶⁷ has represented as fluted, it is the drapery - the eyes were let in'.

To compare the drawings of the Great Temple with a published work only three volumes of the CEDAE series, which do not constitute a complete study of the temple, had been published.¹⁶⁸ Other than these volumes which deal with two of the Side-Rooms, the Battle of Qadesh scenes, and the architecture of the temple, Lepsius 1849 was used. PM has been relied on for the identification of the gods in the reliefs, although these do not always agree with those given by Weigall. The Small Temple was recorded by CEDAE¹⁶⁹ in two volumes and these have been used as a reference for comparison.

ANALYSIS

Generally speaking the Great Temple remains much as it was when Bankes' party recorded it, despite its move, and nothing was found in the drawings which contained unknown or lost information.¹⁷⁰ That said, the portfolio contains a magnificent, comprehensive and voluminous record of the remarkable state of preservation of the temple at this date. This is highlighted by the immense detail shown in the plans, the watercolours of the reliefs, and

¹⁶⁶ Bankes Album II, 114.

¹⁶⁷ Sonnini, 1799.

¹⁶⁸ Desroches Noblecourt et al. 1971, El-Achirie and Jacquet 1984, Donadoni et al. 1975.

¹⁶⁹ Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968.

¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the difficulties in finding a suitable work for comparison may have affected this conclusion.

the views. The minutest architectural details were measured by Bankes, and many complex relief details displayed in Ricci's paintings.

The Album descriptions relate to findings in 1817 as well as the work carried out in 1819. While Christophe 1965, gives a thorough and useful account of the rediscovery of Abu Simbel, we can now correct some of his assumptions: that Bankes was at Thebes with Ricci for nine months (p. 63), about the length of their stay (p. 64), that Bankes remained alone at Abu Simbel after the rest of the party returned with Salt (p. 67), the nature of the work done by Bankes and other artists individually (p. 67; note 25, p. 223), or that Bankes and Ricci worked together at Beni Hasan on their return.

What remained of the colour is described in the Bankes Album (see above). The length of time spent at the site enabled Ricci to complete at least the notes for working up most of his relief work in full watercolour. Because of the sheer quantity, it is likely that much of the actual colouring was part of the finishing process which Ricci completed for Bankes on their return to Cairo.¹⁷¹ Ricci's colours for some of the Abu Simbel drawings are extremely vivid; some set off against the Quaker-grey background, others in the restricted palette of yellow, red and black, as was described by Bankes. Perhaps because of the great interest in the temple, several of the drawings seem to have been produced as highly finished copies for show, rather than on-the-spot drawings. Irby and Mangles 1823, 82, describe the general state of the colouring which they found on entering the Great Temple in 1817 as 'injured' but add that sufficient remained 'by which to judge of what is lost'. It seems likely then that some artistic license must have been used to recreate the colours based on what they found, but according to Gau 1822, 10-11, '*les peintures qui couvrent les murs se revêtaient de brillantes couleurs*'. Judging by the Battle of Qadesh scenes, some of Ricci's details appear to have been originally painted only, not carved, and are therefore probably lost.

Of the Great Temple, the first section of drawings, XI. A. 1-36 are almost all drawings of the reliefs by Ricci; the majority in full colour. Following these are a group of rough, measured, plan details, XI. A. 36-78. These are small sheets bound together, mainly measured and annotated in Bankes' hand (no doubt compiled with assistance). PM has numbered them consecutively as 'pages' resulting in the separation of the work on the recto and verso of a single sheet. Thirty-eight drawings, XI. A. 37, 39-58, and 63-79 are omitted from PM, so that their exact contents are set out here for the first time. They all appear to be of the Great Temple; the majority being details from the facade. XI. A. 37, 41, 59, 60, 74, and 78 contain Greek/Coptic(?) inscriptions.

Bankes' description of Abu Simbel in 1815, XI. A. 81-2, is part of the 'journal' he wrote at that time on separate sheets of paper. His hypothetical reconstruction of the nature of the buried colossi in 1815, XI. B. 34, had been placed in error in the Small Temple

¹⁷¹ Letter to Drovetti, Cairo, 28 August 1819. Curto and Donatelli 1985, Letter 107.

section. There are four small details from the Battle of Qadesh scene, XI. A. 10, 11, and 83-4, but the rest of the work on this scene was rolled up rather than stored flat, and evidently was not found with the rest of the portfolio by PM. Consequently these, perhaps unknown, drawings were excluded from PM but have now been newly numbered and placed in a separate section at the end of Abu Simbel.

There are a large number of views, some very beautiful, and many compositions which depict the various stages and methods of excavation; notably XI. A. 95, 102, 106, and 108 (which seems not to have been numbered by PM). There is only a single view of the interior, XI. A. 86, the rest are of the facade. Two of the views can now be attributed to Bankes and dated to 1815 (XI. A. 97, 101). A previously unidentified watercolour drawing of a detail from an interior relief has now been numbered as XI. A. 107. Plans on the verso of XI. A. 13 have now been reattributed to Wadi es Sebuia, and the identification of the royal female figure in XI. A. 22 altered.

Many of these drawings bear descriptive titles by Bankes in a very black ink and a small script, usually on the verso. These titles, and similar ones for the Small Temple, all appear to have been put on at the same time, after the completion of the work, perhaps at the site, perhaps later.

Of the Small Temple, XI. B. 1-8 are reliefs, mainly by Ricci, but the very different levels of finish and lack of titles on some makes it difficult to be certain that all are by him. A series of studies of the minor figures of the facade, XI. B. 11-15, show some details on the figures which have now deteriorated. Further rough measured plans of the facade figures, XI. B. 19-26, have been omitted from PM so that details of these appear here for the first time. However these are rather general plans, mainly of the facade, and do not show much detail, except for one of steps, another of a cross, a note on the absence of a door hinge, some measurements of interior reliefs, and some architectural sections.

A plan of the temple, XI. B. 28, may be a collaboration between Bankes and Ricci, while the plan and view, XI. B. 32 (also drawings 32 and 34, and probably 36) are by Bankes from 1815.

Of the three drawings of rock stele, XI. C. 1 and 2 are by Bankes, possibly both from 1815.

ABU SIMBEL

The Battle of Qadesh

There are nine drawings of the wall relief showing the Battle of Qadesh. Bankes apparently had problems in getting enough light on to this wall to make out all the reliefs on the outward stop of his second journey, and from references in a letter to Salt, 11 June 1819,

only succeeded in illuminating it properly on his return.¹⁷² In describing what was achieved after Salt and Linant's departure, he also mentions having suffered a severe fever from the heat and exertions of drawing the battle scene at Abu Simbel. These drawings may therefore be the work of Bankes and Ricci, since the letter mentions that Beechey had taken over the architectural work (presumably from Bankes) in order to enable them to complete the recording of the temple. The work is annotated both by Ricci and by Bankes, and must have been a collaboration since more than one style is evident, although exactly who did what is not obvious. From other drawings we have evidence that Bankes sometimes simply annotated Ricci's work.

The drawings show the relief scenes only; the central hieroglyphic text was omitted and is not found elsewhere in the portfolio. The work does not seem to have progressed beyond the fine outline stage despite some colour notations. Drawing XI. A. 112 is the closest to a view of the entire wall on one sheet, but if there was a project to accomplish this it does not seem to have been completed. It would most likely have been an impractical proposition due to the sheer size of the wall and the amount of detail involved. However most, if not all, of the wall has been recorded; among other areas the central figure of the king and the main text are missing, and the king's awaiting horses are only roughly sketched (although shown in XI. A. 11, which was drawn earlier by Linant).

All (except XI. A. 117, a small flimsy scrap of paper) are on heavy, stiff, cream paper and the versos are dirty where they have been exposed on being rolled up. It is possible that some of the stiffness of the paper might be due to the storage conditions; they were evidently less protected against dirt and damage than the rest of the portfolio.

Other drawings from the portfolio related to the Qadesh wall include XI. A. 10, 11, 67, 68, 83, and 84. Of these XI. A. 10 and 11 are by Linant, and XI. A. 67 and 68 are very rough plans which may not be from here. XI. A. 83 and 84 include similar sketch details of horses and chariots. All CEDAE references for this section are to Desroches Noblecourt et al. 1971.

GEBEL ADDA , GEBEL EL SHAMS

and

ABAHUDA TEMPLE

Introduction

Just south of Abu Simbel on the opposite, east bank is the rock-cut temple or chapel of Abahuda of King Horemheb (from the end of the fourteenth century BC). Four or five kilometres to the south of this temple stands Gebel Adda surmounted by a medieval fortress overlooking the island of Shataui. Further south is the double-peaked hill of Gebel

¹⁷² HJ 1/124.

el Shams on which is the stela and niche of Paser I, Viceroy of Kush and 'Superintendent of the Country of the Gold of Amen'. This is a single-chamber shrine about one and a half metres deep by two wide containing a damaged seated statue of a god with a disk and horns on the head. The reliefs show Paser seated receiving the homage of his relations and kneeling to worship the seated statue. There are stelae to the north of the shrine and inscriptions to the south. The shrine and stela were 'difficult of access, and the archaeologist who is not accustomed to climbing might find his attempt to reach them terminated by a fall into the river'.¹⁷³

In his 1815 description of Abu Simbel, XI. A. 80-82, Bankes mentions the grotto of Adde, adding that its position can be seen in one of his views. On his second journey Bankes refers to 'Massakate' or 'Mashakeit' (with other varied spellings),¹⁷⁴ and to Shataui as 'Shatui'. Bankes Album, II, 116, is an almost illegibly written disjointed description of what he observed on the stretch of river between Abu Simbel and Faras.

'passing from Ipsombel - 2 very large Pelicans... a few simple sepulchral grottos... grotto of Adde [Abahuda] - many saints on Horseback as at Dakke - there are scrawls also in Arabic & the saints have been carefully effaced... the 2 side chambers are not even smoothed & were certainly sepulchral - so was the souterrain of the inner chamber ... the end wall had hieroglyphs - no sitting figures - on one side of the door the man with lotuses hanging down leading a Bull [a 'Nile god', see XII. A. 13] - the old city Massakate not commanded on any side - very singular character of abrupt and detached mountains rising out of the plain near it - some pyramidical - some with many sharp spires & fantastical tops. The Xtian capitals a bastard corinthian of a red sandstone - the upright as well as the architrave of the little doorway remains lying [?] in a doorway [?] in a courtyard - some pottery perhaps from church[?] ... some oyster shells (from red sea) - [illegible] - below in the plain many tombs - [his sketch here shows the usual Islamic small square domed structure; see XII. A. 22] - many of the tombs opened & bones lying about - some arched over in crude brick - These undoubtedly denote a large Mahomedan population - [illegible] - N W of the city in a high Pyramidical mountain washed by the Nile even when low - is a grotto [of Paser] with a single figure sitting mutilated - sculptures in a very neat & [...?] & colours have been bright - ceiling the same as at Ibrim - near it an inscription in hieroglyphs & 2 tablets of very neat sculpture - the grotto opens to the W. - in the next rock [?] SW. to mouth[?] of a grotto has been carried deeper in - S of this a number of regular barrows... Lentils and Wheat & Doura &c on the W bank...passed some brick ruins on that side where we did not go to shore... [continuing on page 117] On E bank landed at a solitary X church... nearly opposite to Farras...'

Ricci's diary reports that on their outward journey they left Abu Simbel one hour

¹⁷³ The above taken from Weigall 1907, 138-42.

¹⁷⁴ By which he means Gebel Adda, unlike Champollion who called Gebel el Shams 'Maschakit' (PM, 122).

after sunrise on 18 February 1819 with a good north wind. That day they visited the 'anticha città di nassache' (Bankes' 'Massakate'), and stayed at 'Chatau: isola' (the island of Shataui). In the evening the wind grew stronger. They left on the 19th an hour after sunrise, with a strong north wind. That evening they stayed about four hours from the preceding island because they had found a quantity of Coptic inscriptions in the desert about a mile away from the Nile. There was still a strong north wind but it subsided at 7[?]pm. On the 20th they left at sunrise and arrived at Wadi Halfa after seeing the two temples there. The drawings in this section would therefore appear to have been made on their return.

Both the temple of Abahuda and the ruins on the rock of Gebel Adda, which was, like Qasr Ibrim, a large and important fortified town in the Late Period, were under threat from the rising waters resulting from the Aswan Dam. It proved impossible to dismantle and move the temple of Abahuda, and only fragments of it could be cut out of the rock and rescued. These included reliefs covered by Christian frescoes which were carefully removed by Yugoslav experts. The plan was to display them in a new museum of Nubia in Aswan; this museum finally opened in 1997.¹⁷⁵

The University of Alexandria conducted one season of surveys and excavations at Gebel Adda during the 1950s, and an American team using international personnel also excavated there.¹⁷⁶

According to PM, Paser (their 'Pesiur') was the Viceroy of Kush under Ay and Horemheb. Abahuda occurs *after* Gebel el Shams in the PM numbering system but it actually occurs first on the journey south from Abu Simbel.

ANALYSIS

Bankes left a very detailed and complete record in the twenty-four drawings covering this series of monuments, with work from both 1815 and 1818-19. From 1815 we have a description of the shrine of Paser, XII. A. 1; a description of Gebel Adda, XII. A. 15; and a view, plan, and description of the temple of Abahuda, XII. A. 20.

After making this comprehensive early record, Bankes' team then made a more detailed survey including Ricci's careful copies of the stela of Hor, XII. A. 8, and other reliefs and texts. Bankes himself made extremely detailed measured plans and sections, and the PM, 120, plan of the niche of Paser, is adapted from XII. A. 4.

From those drawings which could be compared with Lepsius' record of the reliefs there is no additional information. However it seems that XII. A. 2 and possibly parts of the reliefs of XII. A. 1, 3 and 5 may be uniquely shown in the Bankes' drawings.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ See Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 10, 48, 135-6, 212.

¹⁷⁶ See Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 48, 64, 198, 202.

¹⁷⁷ Other unpublished records cited in PM were not examined.

XII. A. 7, 14, and 15 were omitted from PM. XII. A. 21 was also omitted as being a landscape. The views XII. A. 22 and 23 were previously unidentified in the Miscellaneous section, while XII. A. 24 was incorrectly attributed.

FARAS

Introduction

Faras is a complex ancient site spread over a vast area where the western desert hills lay some 2 km back from the river. The site is 23 km south of Abu Simbel and 35 km north of Wadi Halfa, the ancient Buhen. The area, which lay on the west bank of the part of the river between the islands of Adindan and Faras, had in ancient times been an island separated by a second left channel, or canal, of the Nile.

Griffith, who worked at Faras during the winters of 1910-12, gives a detailed account of the history and topography of the area and a report of the excavations and the finds made by their expedition, which included Palaeolithic tools.¹⁷⁸ Later, Karkowski¹⁷⁹ found scattered remains from A-Group, C-Group, Pharaonic, Meroitic, X-Group and Christian times. Considerable re-building and re-use of materials made it difficult to establish what original constructions had been present, however inscribed blocks led to Griffith identifying four Pharaonic temples. Karkowski thought that some of the material came from other sites including Buhen, and concluded that in Pharaonic times Faras had not been an important religious centre as previously thought, but instead 'one of the numerous Lower Nubian centres, in which a small sanctuary of Hathor existed.'¹⁸⁰

Prior to the submersion of the site under Lake Nasser, the Polish archaeological expedition (1961-1964) made many new discoveries in the area including churches and frescoes. They believed Faras was '*sans aucune doute pendant un certain temps la capitale de la Nobatie [one of the Christian Kingdoms of Nubia] et pendant toute l'histoire de la Nubie chrétienne elle fut le siège du gouverneur royal-éparque.*'¹⁸¹

Earlier travellers noted a small niche or grotto of Setau, Viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II, built on the south-east face of an isolated rock situated south of the Meroitic enclosure and known as the Hathor Rock. On the north side of the rock Griffith discovered and cleared a temple of Hathor and, in the inscriptions of the grotto of Setau, Hathor of Abeshkek is mentioned.¹⁸²

Karkowski gives a good account of the early travellers and the exploration of the site, but as usual Bankes is not mentioned. 'The localization of Faras between two of the

¹⁷⁸ Griffith (no date), 3.

¹⁷⁹ Karkowski 1981, 12.

¹⁸⁰ Karkowski 1981, 74.

¹⁸¹ Michalowski 1966, 1.

most attractive sites of Lower Nubia, Abu Simbel and Wadi Halfa, was the reason why a number of early travellers and scholars who risked the journey south of the First Cataract did not stop to visit this place. On the other hand the vast area over which the Pharaonic remains were scattered, resulted in the fact that even those who stopped at Faras were not always able to localize all the places in which Pharaonic material could be found in their time'.¹⁸³

This comment is certainly true of Bankes' Album account in which the structures described are hard to place within maps of the site because he used the name 'Farras' in a rather general way. The plans of tombs given by Bankes however can be identified as those of the rock-cut New Kingdom tombs,¹⁸⁴ while the lintels which he drew are probably the 'portes égyptiennes' observed by Horeau in 1837 among the ruins of walls, granite columns, and doorways in the area of the Great Kom [the Meroitic enclosure]. 'The "Egyptian gates" most probably designate the Meroitic lintels with the cobra friezes or the winged sun-disc which were found in this place during later excavations.'¹⁸⁵

Bankes' disjointed notes in his journal-style description¹⁸⁶ of Faras, made when travelling south in 1819, make it even more difficult to pin down his topographical references. After describing the various monuments south of Abu Simbel, and tamarisk growing on the west bank 'giving the banks of the Nile quite new features - passed some brick ruins on that side where we did not go to shore. [continues on page 117] On E bank landed at a solitary X church with a high basement of rude stone & 2 columns of the worst proportions near the altar - all the rest crude brick - near the village Addindal - This is nearly opposite to Farras - an inclosure [the Meroitic enclosure] within a high wall with towers at 2 of the angles & some houses[?] within - one door only - over that the upper member[?] of a Tafa architrave - & near[?] it a frieze of snakes - within another snake frieze & a Tafa architrave so small that it can not have served properly[?] for a door¹⁸⁷. - small fragment of a grape frieze lower[?] empire[?] - & several of a frieze of Eagles bearing crosses on their heads & altars - this place was a residence of the Kachiefs - on the slope of the hill another Tafa architrave - the lower member - very near it to the W. are ruins with small granite columns & a high & well constructed wall of crude brick as of fortification - further same direction a mass of rock [the Hathor Rock with ruins over it?] seems to have served as a quarry - the top is cut flat & has a square hole as if to set up a pole - at the back a small tablet apparently inscribed I know not what language - certainly not hieroglyphs - on the side toward the Nile a small grotto [of Setau] with an empty niche at the end & on

¹⁸² Griffith (no date), vol. VIII, Nos. 3-4, 84, and plan of grotto pl. I.

¹⁸³ Karkowski 1981, 2.

¹⁸⁴ See Karkowski 1981, pl. 1 position 2. I am grateful to a personal communication from Włodzimierz Godlewski, for this information, when he was kind enough to look over the Faras drawings.

¹⁸⁵ Karkowski 1981, 3.

¹⁸⁶ Bankes Album, II, 117.

one wall 2 figures & hieroglyphs - the town to the N & NW a pretty large extent of cultivation worked by sackier [the water-lifting device, called a *sakkiya*] with fine crops - 1 mile N ¹/₄ W of the church opposite to Faras - (Faras itself not being visible) - is a grotto of 4 chambers [see perhaps Bankes' plans of XII. B. 3] - in one of which a grave is sunk in nature of a sarcophagus - a well in the floor of another [see perhaps the plan of XII. B. 4] opens into 5 small chambers below disposed in form of a cross & very rude - the cross form should half make one suspect it a X plan of burial but the Catacombs Alexandria same form - no hieroglyphs or sculpture in all this grotto but the doorways have Egyptian form - some of the bats frightened out of it by us into the daylight were immediately seized by hawks - from the innermost of the lower sepulchral chambers is a hole (forced out) communicating with another suite of chambers the 1st of which full of Coptic Inscriptions written in red paint with care[?] & in general well preserved - much sand has drifted into this chamber - There is one more small grotto of no interest - in the way to these grottoes from Farras are constant[?] signs of a greater breadth of land under cultivation than now the ridges still appearing above the sand - some ruins of brick visible L hand which we must visit returning. - pass to the Island. [probably the island of Faras to the south of the Faras area] - Farras the first above the Cataract cultivated all over - and with some good houses scattered over it - lemon tree in bloom - much lentils lupins and wheat - from thence land on E bank at an ancient Xtian site - a small square place walled round with high brick walls & Towers - buildings within disposed with no regularity - a sort of shallow moat has been cut round it in the live rock...'

He continues to describe these structures, then two 'sepulchral grottos', and about half a mile further on, a church. They then passed over to the west side and landed near some crude brick buildings. Near this the desert was full of onyx, agate and carnelian, '& a sort of stone like petrified wood & another species which the Dr [Ricci] believes bones'. On page 118 he notes that they then see 'a 2d heap of ruins - the 3d is a large church of which I have the plan [XII. B. 9] it is exactly a counterpart of that opposite to Farras. - in the window[?] of the staircase is a Tablet in the Egyptian style, but it never has been inscribed - & if these staircases always so singularly[?] placed - leading up to a sort of gallery over the alcove - [?] the place for the women - at the east end are 3 steps like the [?] of a [?] with a projection in the center like a throne. - I remember such[?] a one in the old church at Farras - in the Apse[?] is painted a great figure within an oval with the hand in the attitude of blessing - possibly the almighty or the Saviour - with the hands of the [?] of the 4 evangelists round him - on the backs of the [?] - cherubs shielded with their wings - nearly opposite to this is Eskate where are many sackiers & a considerable extent of cultivation...'

¹⁸⁷ Some of these lintels are now recognised as belonging to windows. (Personal communication from Włodzimierz Godlewski.)

He then describes the village and 'the reception of a Hadjee' there who is rapturously greeted on his return from Mecca. He notes the village has a school.

John Hyde says that on 20 February they passed 'remains of several Greek or early Christian churches mostly situated on the Western [side] the Nile - all of which Mr B. examined with the most minute attention to find out any inscription or Date that could at all throw a light on their history - but ineffectively.'¹⁸⁸

Ricci does not mention Faras by name in his diary although he refers to their stopping to examine Coptic inscriptions in the desert about a mile away from the Nile on 19 February 1819. They had left Abu Simbel an hour after sunrise on the 18th, stayed at Shatui island, and left the Faras area at daybreak on the 20th, arriving at Wadi Halfa an hour after midday. Therefore on the journey south, as Bankes' journal indicates, they seem to have been moving fairly quickly through the area.

The drawings of Faras appear to have been kept in a folder of rough, blue, flecked paper, measuring 44.5 x 29 cm. (when open), marked in several places by Bankes, 'Farras'.

ANALYSIS

Bankes' Album description of the remains he found at Faras is quite informative and gives the background to the subjects of the nine drawings, despite its style and the fact that at that moment they were only passing-through hurriedly. He was also interested in recording the remains of the early churches, which are omitted from PM. Of these XII. B. 8 and 9 are of separate churches and not a single church as identified in the PM Manuscript List. He drew plans of the local tombs, XII. B. 3-5, previously unidentified by PM, and architectural fragments from the Meroitic enclosure.

WADI HALFA

(BUHEN)

Introduction

The position of Wadi Halfa has always been strategically important. Situated to the north of the Second Cataract, it marked the frontier in ancient times between *Wawat* and *Kush* (Lower and Upper Nubia), and in modern times between Egypt and the Sudan. The Second Cataract stretched over an area of 40 km, known as the Batn el-Hagar, 'the belly of the rocks', an area impassable to shipping. At Wadi Halfa was the ancient Egyptian fortress town of Buhen; one of the great chain of Middle Kingdom fortresses which, by

¹⁸⁸ John Hyde Mss for the date given.

controlling the river passage north into Egypt, formed a security cordon against what was expressed in contemporary inscriptions as the threat of Kush. The forts, while protecting the rich mining sources and other Nubian trade, contained garrisons of troops, and were centres of administration from which to source Nubian manpower for mining and for the Egyptian army. After a period of Egyptian withdrawal and a Nubian occupation during the Second Intermediate Period, Buhen continued to be inhabited in the New Kingdom, and within the fortress were two New Kingdom temples.¹⁸⁹

The modern town of Wadi Halfa lies on the east bank, about 20 miles south of Faras and about ten miles north of what Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, Text, 1, calls 'the Pulpit Rock of Abusir' (which Bankes refers to as 'the peak visited by travellers' or the 'Cataract Rock'). While the east bank contained a narrow verdant strip at the beginning of this century, the west bank was in contrast a desert waste. The ruins of the fortress of Buhen were on the west bank opposite the south end of the modern town of Wadi Halfa. A good account of those who did archaeological work at the site (rather than simply visiting it) is given by Caminos 1974, I, 3-7.

Ricci was later to revisit the site with the Champollion and Rosellini expedition in 1828-9 and guide Champollion to the stela which he had previously drawn for Bankes, XII. D. 6. Champollion's account of the site¹⁹⁰ focuses on the information he had obtained from his ability to read the hieroglyphs, unlike Bankes' account which could only be archaeological and architectural at that time.

Smith 1976, 1, notes that during the post-Mahadiya British military occupation some clearance and restoration was undertaken by various military commanders including Captain H.G. (later Sir Henry) Lyons, who was to rediscover parts of the stela, XII. C. 6.

The first extensive modern excavation of Buhen was by the University of Pennsylvania Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition, in the two seasons of 1909 and 1910.¹⁹¹ With the threat of the rising waters of the Aswan dam, the fortress of Buhen was more completely excavated and published by the EES under the direction of W.B. Emery between 1957 and 1964 as part of the Unesco campaign. Although the great mud-brick fortress was eventually lost below the waters, the South Temple was removed to Khartoum in 1962-3 by the EES with the co-operation of the Sudan Antiquities Service and was re-erected in the grounds of the Khartoum museum.¹⁹² The New Kingdom temples were recorded by Caminos as part of the EES project in 1960-61.¹⁹³

Bankes and his party were not the first to see the ruins at Wadi Halfa, which were barely visible above the sand, but they were the first to investigate them closely and to

¹⁸⁹ For a general description and history of the fortress of Buhen, see Emery et al. 1979, chapter 1.

¹⁹⁰ Champollion 1844, I, 29-38.

¹⁹¹ Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911.

¹⁹² Emery et al. 1979, Preface.

attempt to excavate them fully.¹⁹⁴ The desire to excavate had evidently been prompted by Bankes' first visit in 1815, and his consequent confusion as to the actual plan of the South Temple (see the description, XII. C. 10, which he wrote on his first journey). On his second journey Bankes tells us that ten days were devoted to the operation of excavation. According to Finati 1830, 317, 'This undertaking at Wadi Halfa had chiefly been resorted to as a pastime, during a tedious negotiation which was carrying on to induce the Kashief... to furnish camels and an escort for Mr. Bankes and some of his companions, so far as Dongola, a journey which had long been determined upon.' It was from here that Salt and Linant left the party to return to Cairo because of Salt's illness, and the remaining travellers then progressed slowly south by land.¹⁹⁵ On their return journey, they stopped again at Wadi Halfa: 'The excavations in the district of Wady Halfa had been carried on in our absence by Antonio da Costa, and more chambers and small monuments discovered there. Our stay was short, and from thence we began to drop down the Nile.' (Finati 1830, 340).

What Bankes had discovered were the ruins of the North and South Temples; New Kingdom structures which overlay earlier Middle Kingdom ones and which were encircled by the river and the massive Middle Kingdom fortifications. He also describes an additional two structures which he considered to have been separate ones, as well as '2 larger detached stones' (probably part of the entrance doorway to the quay). Bankes' second structure appears to be the one, fifteen paces square, of which Champollion left a plan and description.¹⁹⁶ This shows a single entrance facing the Nile, whereas Bankes shows no entrance breaking his 39' square, but includes side walls extending towards the east. Bankes describes the walls as 'very thick and inclining moderately upwards' and also as 'a hollow square of double masonry rough within & regular only on the outside'. It is likely to be part of the structures shown abutting the north wall of the temple in Emery et al. 1979, pl. 3. Bankes' fourth structure, 'Further on yet are long lines of foundations', is probably part of the external fortification. All these are shown on the general site plan, XII. C. 9.

From Finati's description, Bankes seems to have conducted two periods of excavation; one himself while waiting for transport for the journey south, the other in his absence carried out by Antonio da Costa. Bankes' difficulties in describing the site were

¹⁹³ Caminos 1974.

¹⁹⁴ Wadi Halfa is briefly alluded to on their first journey in Finati 1830, 81: 'There are ruins near Wadi Halfa, but much buried in the sand.' Bankes' footnote here adds 'It will be seen in a following Chapter, that an excavation was afterwards made here that brought to light a large extent of building.'

¹⁹⁵ Finati 1830, 320. Finati adds that their party was 'augmented by two additional persons quite at last... a Mr. Hyde... and his Greek servant.' However it is clear from Hyde's own account that he actually joined them earlier on 14 February at Abu Simbel. He was accompanied by 'Kyriaco Porithi (the Greek who accompanied Lord Belmore as Dragoman) as my Arab interpreter.' (John Hyde Mss for 14 February 1819 and 31 December 1818 respectively.) On 26 February Hyde says that they crossed over to the west bank for the onward journey 'having taken leave of our friend Mr. Salt'.

augmented by the fact that the South Temple, the core of which was originally built by Hatshepsut, had been radically altered and enlarged by Thutmose III. Bankes was at a loss to explain the plan, confused by the juxtaposition of incompatible architectural features, and puzzled to discover that the front entrance was not where his experience told him to expect it, at the centre of the axis. It is clear from his description, Bankes Album, II, 126, written after his own excavations, that he did not excavate nor see surface traces of the vestibule-sanctuary complex of rooms at the rear although he was aware that they must exist and recommends their excavation to future visitors.

According to Bankes' travel narrative in the Album, II, 118, coming from Faras they first landed on the west bank at 'Ardeen' (Argin) where they examined '3 detached piles of Christian ruins'. Beyond this he found 'all the W bank a mere desert'. There were villages on the east bank and 'many sand islands'.

The first section of his description of Wadi Halfa in the Album is part of the continuation of his running journal, written rather illegibly and apparently hurriedly on the move, and dealing with the site as he first found it. There is then a section, written later, which summarises and assesses his findings. From page 123, a further section describes the results of his excavations and research. Bankes does not himself divide the text into paragraphs but these have been inserted here where it is clear that he is speaking of different parts of the site. Although his descriptions of the site are repetitive they have been given here in sequence as they appear in the Album. The North Temple description, for example, is described three times in the Album, 118-126, and Bankes frequently repeats himself almost word for word. His first impressions are in rather illegible note-form within a journal format, next he assesses his findings, and finally he describes the results ('...it only remains to explain what the excavation & researches have brought to light...'). The extracts describing the North Temple supply archaeological information not found elsewhere. This very confusing piece of writing is probably a good example of why Bankes felt unable to compose anything in a finished manner for publication.

'Ruins opposite Wadi Halfa - the larger [the South Temple] is much in the style of Amada both for the disposition in [?] columns with square piers & in the taste & execution of the sculpture which is neat & low relief - the hieroglyphic [diagram of a cartouche here] it is remarkable - almost the same with that at Amada & in the grotto at Ibrim - it is certain that we see the whole width of the buildings since between the piers of the outermost range is the remains of a thin wall that connected them - those sides of the Piers that touch the wall have each a broad rough stripe of hieroglyphs - on the other faces of the piers the hero smaller than life embraced & fed with the [ankh sign drawn here] - The plan is incomprehensible since the number of openings in the front to the Nile is equal & yet no sign of a 2d doorway - That which is there projects much forward as Amada & [?] which

¹⁹⁶ Champollion 1844, I, 29.

confirms its being the only entrance to correspond with the center of an approach in stone which may be traced down to the Nile. I excavated this doorway to some depth but could see no sculpture - the quality of the sandstone is bad - & the state of ruin of the edifice seems to be the [?] act[?] of time in some instance - the upper tambours & abacus of the columns is so eaten away as to have fallen off & to be scarcely recognized - yet the ruin of this building is not so great as it appears [continues on page 119] many of the piers & most of the columns wanting but a single corner[?] of their original height & several being quite intire to the very top as is apparent by comparing some with a column that still bears the abacus - since the sekos was always much lower it is probable that that or at least considerable remains of it may be concealed below the surface - the proportions & extant of the Portico unusual - The difficulties of the plan do not finish with the doorway - on entering one column (which appears round) is coupled against a square pier [PM, (13) and (14)] that corresponds with nothing¹⁹⁷ - some of the columns are evidently in facets or shallow flutes & some seem to have been round¹⁹⁸ - the facets or flutes perhaps laid on in stucco - in one however one half is in facets, & the other round - this column is out of the line of all that it ought to range with - I excavated till I found the joint below the surface which put it out of doubt that it is not a mere detached tambour - the fact is that perhaps excepting the roofstones which fell I imagine of themselves there is not much wanting in the portico - it would not be an easy excavation since it is choaked not so much with sand as with masses of brick construction grafted on the ruins probably by the Xtians - the whole has formed a mound much higher than the desert about it -

[36 m north of the South Temple is the North Temple, now described by Bankes] - near is a very extensive suite of apartments just above the sand - the walls thick of brick stuccoed & painted in a tawdry taste - the doorways (some of which want nothing but the architrave) of stone with hieroglyphs, the same of some piers - whose form it is difficult to account for [diagram here] since had the semicircular part supported the head of Isis, it would have stood forward in relief, & not in the hollow as it is - the innermost chamber shows an inclination in the side walls toward the top like the spring of an arch¹⁹⁹ yet it is not easy to conceive how an arch of crude brick can have been cut away to so flat & smooth a surface as it presents - & the same of the other walls - on one a female Egyptian figure seems to have been painted yellow, sitting, with a necklace of the usual system of coloured stripes - the arch topped niche in the end room has had I conceive a tablet that was fitted in to it torn out - & in the center of the end of this room is a detached tablet which

¹⁹⁷ Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, 11: 'Such unsightly unions of square pillars and round columns as Nos. 23-24, 29-30, and 13-14 are altogether without analogy and can never have been designed by the admirable architect who executed the work of Hatshepsut. Still less can he have intended to block the axis of approach to the main building by placing a pillar or column in front of it where Nos. 13-14 now stand, a piece of bungling which made it necessary to misplace the entrance door.'

¹⁹⁸ According to Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, 12, the round columns were simply unfinished.

¹⁹⁹ See comments on the likelihood of arches in Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, Text, 84.

seems to be formed of stone coated over with mud & on that a thin facing of stucco with hieroglyphs & figures in Intaglio [see XII. C. 6] - paint remains on ['some'? or 'same'?] & some green substance that has the appearance of copper laid into the outlines - I have no doubt that this whole building is sepulchral & mummy parts will perhaps be found -

2 larger detached stones [these are shown on plan XII. C. 9] are near & a hollow square of double masonry rough within & regular only on the outside [later referred to by Bankes in the Album as the 3rd separate structure; see plan XII. C. 9]. Further on yet are long lines of foundations [see plan XII. C. 9] - Pliny mentions Stadisis as a place near this Cataract - is it this or Semneh?

- a little S of these remains is a small church of crude brick - the desert much agate & jasper & black basalt & a stone with green veins like copper - the sandstone rock very near the surface - sometimes standing up in ridges no thicker than pasteboard & so strait at R angles as to appear rather artificial than natural - a pyramidal detached rock bears [blank left here for the orientation] from the greater Ruin - round its upper parts [page 120 begins here] is a broad surface that is tolerably[?] smooth whether naturally or from stone having been drawn thence [i.e. a quarry] - many inscriptions there in hieroglyphs & some very singular ones apparently[?] like Greek - but also partakes[?] both[?] of resemblance to written characters & is only hieroglyphs turned the other way - thus [diagram of what looks like the hieroglyphic sign for desert hills, Gardiner 1964, N 25] set up gives E & so the [diagram of the hieroglyphic sign of a leg, Gardiner 1964, D 58] comes near the L & [diagram of Gardiner 1964, N 35] makes the E or [here he shows a diagram of the same *n* sign sideways on] - this had never occurred to me - it is not easy to account for these inscriptions - I suppose them very ancient [are these perhaps Meroitic?] - Mr Linon picked up near the buildings one jaspar that seems to have been wrought to a clumsy ring.

- anchored on the 1st Island called [no space or name here] - a good many houses - much of it now produces nothing but is all cultivable & has been cultivated - many date trees & all round a sort of natural hedge of Tamarisk & the Palma Christi here & there a few lupins - goats in abundance - some cows - 1 camel & (what is rare) 2 horses - some curious plants - the island S of it smaller - two or 3 poor houses... dates... at the Southern part considerable ruins in brick subdivided in very small arched apartments many not long enough to lie down in - at some time they have served as Tombs - we saw bones there & a skull - Near the Sheiks Tomb - which bears WSW. from our anchorage (the cataract rock bearing SW by W) on the Island - a brick ruin & another somewhat further up - we passed the smaller Cangia [boat] very near the peak visited by travellers [the so-called 'Pulpit Rock' of Abusir on which many travellers left graffiti] - the whole rock of a pale sandstone - the islands in the river black or nearly so appearing a dark purple - they come in great number - some have a few goats - the latitude marked on the rock 21.51 [at the top of page 120, next to a groundplan of the 'small Christian church - SW of Cataract Rock', he has written in red ink, 'Latitude inscribed on Djibbel Abouseer - 21.51'] - edge of the river a

thicket chiefly [?] & Tamarisk hung with a creeper that is new to me... on the cataract rock itself there are traces of older Inscriptions, & on several near it both in the desert & water side - SW of it below distant less than a mile an island (at high Nile now part of main land) called to me Derr - it is [?] old & has some huts & one round Tower of larger rude stones with a superstructure of bricks as at Omky [his Wadi Omki, see XII. C. 15, 15a, 15b] - the diameter may be less than 20 feet & it seems to have been subdivided [page 121 begins here] in the interior by a party wall - caught here a large Warren [lizard] - fierce when attacked but a shoe so hard as to lift it up [last sentence almost illegible] - several Abades were wandering about - near the island Derr SW of the Cataract rock a small Christian Church with an open [?] in middle of rubble & crude brick - some of the paintings pretty fresh & intire -

4 [?] days of close hot weather without sun or blue sky - the nights tolerably clear - on the 24th [24 February 1819; this storm is also recorded in Ricci's diary. They are still moving south.] quite a hurricane with clouds & sand[?]- 25th about 9 o'clock a lone clap of thunder & a little rain - the wind strong from the North for some days past - it became S after noon - some Nubians of our crew swam down the Cataract - the sand dispersed by the Nile full of mica of a golden colour in large particles -

[Bankes now writes in a smaller hand and paler ink what seems to be his assessment of the ruins, written in later, after his excavation, in a different style. The sentences are longer and properly constructed; it is no longer in note form and is consequently easier to understand, but the tiny spidery writing is difficult to read.]

At Wady Halfa are clearly the remains of four principal edifices - the sand possibly conceals many more & certainly concealed from our view those vestiges which we are accustomed to see of ancient cities in fragments of pottery &c. - how far the building which we have been at the pains to excavate may have been originally erected above the surface or in part subterranean I cannot say - but would be worth determining, even at the present level of the surface, the vaulted roofs would have stood above, the other chambers were probably loftier than the cella (as usual) since in the cella the spring of the Arch is visible whilst in the [outer? or 'other?'] chambers - the human figures are cut off at the waist²⁰⁰ & there is no probability at all that their heads and upper parts were in the cove of the ceiling - the sight of these ruins leads to a supposition that many of those in brick both in Egypt & above may have been much more ancient than at first sight is supposed. There is a brick Tomb arched at Gournou some behind the little Isiac temple of the West & some behind the Memnonium all painted with hieroglyphs. At Thebes these might be supposed of a comparatively later period by those who believe the Arch of late invention - but what shall we say to these at Wady Halfa - for if we can rely on Pliny's account of the state of

²⁰⁰ See Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, 13: 'It is unfortunate that the upper courses were all removed from the main building [of the South Temple] in ancient times so that only the lower half of the figures remain.'

the country in his time & on Strabo's of the manners & habits of the people there can be little probability that they were constructed recently, much less since... it is not easy to say how this edifice has been cut off so exactly to the level of the surface of the soil - for soft as the material is it lasts well in this climate - much fallen brickwork was found in the chambers but not enough to make up what is wanting, it is probable that what stood up may have been carried away for manure or to build elsewhere & should the great remains of brickwork grafted on the neighbouring ruin be thought posterior - bricks from here may have been possibly employed there -

our excavation occupied ten days - on the first opening some of the paintings especially in the 1st long transverse chamber without the sekos [perhaps Hall D of the North Temple?] much of the plaster & painting was very fresh especially a sacred boat with its usual accompaniments. There was much enchorial [presumably demotic] writing about it - also - like that at Ipsambul - it fell on being exposed to the air - the colouring is very brilliant but not so well in harmony as usual & not finished with any great delicacy - it is singular that the uprights of the doorway [continues on page 122] to the principal cella are of a different stone from the 2 lateral ones (of a pale purplish colour & have no ornament at all whereas the others have strips of hieroglyphs - In the end wall of the sanctuary a small Tablet seems to have been let in & framed with painted borders & has been removed [i.e. the empty niche] - In the center a large Tablet of sandstone coated with plaster stands in a leaning position against the wall [see XII. C. 6] - a man seems to be presenting captives - with their names written under each - to a god - there is a similar representation at Aphroditopolis[?] near Esne - in the center of the room stands a plain & rather rude altar table of stone having as usual the sides longer than the ends - Towards the lower end of the room on each side an oblong square sandstone Tablet is let into the wall with hieroglyphs in Intaglio & some sculpture in relief [see XII. C. 4 and 5] - if in the paintings of this room there were ever any figures painted they are effaced - nothing now remaining but borders & architectural decoration - both in this & other apartments it may be traced that the walls have been previously painted in colours & patterns somewhat different from the present - near the northern angle of the cella [see its position and measurements on XII. C. 6] stands a fragment of an architrave with large Hieroglyphs in intaglio, it is [sic] does not appear that it is fallen accidentally in this place but rather that it has been set there to support something as a pedestal or supplementary altar - The 2 lateral cellae are both plastered plain white - they are of unequal width - a difference that prevails throughout the whole edifice - the side walls of these being carried forwards all the way - In the chamber immediately preceding the cella [Hall D of the North temple] on one hand of the center doorway was the Boat, on the other almost[?] close to the door jamb a cavity

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from which a small tablet has been taken out,²⁰¹ & another longer [another stela?] standing near it inscribed with perpendicular columns of an unknown character [it is not clear what script he might be referring to here] - this was slightly attached to the surface with a cement of clay - (the wall being painted behind so that it must be an afterthought) & has been removed.

In the next chamber passing towards the front the inscription of the door lies broken on the ground, within it what was brick, the thickness of the brick was arched the spring being still visible on both sides - at the NE extremity a part has been screened off by a thin & (as it now appears a low wall [shown, measured on plan XII. C. 7] whether formerly carried higher I can not say - it does not rise now above 3 feet from the pavement, it has on its inner face 2 projections & in the center[?] of the same a sort of perpendicular groove - more as if worn by the action of some thing sliding or rubbing against it - than as if cut originally - in this portion of the room so set apart there is a long couch of brick raised about a foot & plastered - I suspect it provided for a body - In the next doorway the stone uprights seem to have been forced out - at the SW end of the room from which it opens [the Forecourt] are two stone uprights like those of a doorway & within it a very shallow recess, plastered & painted of a plain white colour [on the south wall of F and shown on XII. C. 7] - it might be desirable to break this thro' or rather to excavate behind it in order to see if it be not the entrance of Tombs or other chambers beyond upon the side - This chamber [F] is screened off from the next [G] by six piers of stone, the intervals between the two central of these & between the extreme ones - to the NE - seem to have been open - whether that to the SW was so is doubtful tho intervals were certainly engaged with a solid wall of brick yet besides a striking irregularity in the form of these engaging walls the circumstance of their covering much of the side hieroglyphs of the piers renders it doubtful whether they be coeval - The chamber behind these piers is the most spacious - 4 piers probably supported its ceiling - 3 of these are visible - the 4 has been searched for in vain to some depth - it probably is fallen & may be lying on the floor - on the SW side the 2 piers are engaged by a brick wall to which what has been said of the other engaging walls is applicable - hieroglyphs being concealed - whether the engaging wall continued between the face of these piers & those that screen it from the next chamber is doubtful - on entering from without, on the L hand, is a mass like a doorway containing a square Tablet of sandstone sculptured with the Priapus figure & others & many lines of hieroglyphs [PM, 130 (4), a stela of Ramesses I] - opposite to this there seems to have been the plan for another - all this quantity of Tablets many certainly not part of the original work not integral parts of the edifice must be register of something & appear to me

²⁰¹ This tablet seems to have been missing from the niche and Bankes also uses these terms to describe the empty niche at the end wall of the central Sanctuary. Both these cavities are shown, measured, on the plan XII. C. 7.

probably sepulchral. The front part of the building is not intelligible, & it may probably extend much further [the plan XII. C. 7 shows this area] -

- the 3d remains at Wady Halfa has a quadrangular body - the walls very thick & inclining moderately upwards. [This structure appears to be that described by Champollion 1844, I, 29, as a square stone structure, 15 paces square, with a single door facing the Nile. Champollion did not consider this to be of any great antiquity. However the square structure shown in plan XII. C. 9, measured as some 39' square, does not have a doorway shown, and has the side walls extending to the east. It is likely to be part of the structures shown abutting the north wall of the temple in Emery et al. 1979, pl. 3.]

[Banks left a space below this section and then continued overleaf on page 123. His script is now heavier and darker again. This section has been written, he tells us (below), after his excavations; however it repeats much of what has been said earlier.]

Wady Halfa - no surrounding walls visible - nor pottery - sand sufficient to have covered this - probably one of the abandoned sites mentioned by Pliny - the brickwork about the largest building - original any of it or not? Probably the sekos under the sand.

The state in which it appeared like[?] lately has been already [?] to & it only remains to explain what the excavation & researches have brought to light - if we begin towards the entrance [of the North temple] it is there that much is still left in uncertainty - Lines of wall may be traced in various directions & apparently disposed with little regularity [some of these shown on plans XII. C. 7 and 9] - it is probable however that other chambers of approach might be laid open there - The first whose form is ascertained is large & square [the Forecourt G] & seems to have had its ceilings supported upon 4 piers of stone, six similar piers screen it off from the next apartment inwards [F] - it is a most singular circumstance that the most part of these piers seem to have had an engagement of brickwork so as to subdivide the apartment itself & to destroy their effect as pillars. There is not any other reason for suspecting this a subsequent alteration - brick & stone being mixed about indiscriminately thro'out besides the circumstance of sculptured hieroglyphics being completely concealed by it - The Sanctuary was according to the general practice lower than the more advanced parts of the building as is clear from observing that tho' all the brickwork thro'out has been cut away to the same level in the sanctuary the spring of the Arch is discernible which it is not in any of the other Chambers & it is not even very probable that it commenced in these within any very short space since the painted figures are uniformly cut off about the waist & it can hardly be supposed that the heads & headresses were carried into the cove - in the side walls of the sekos near the door are let in 2 corresponding Tablets each containing several lines of hieroglyphs - In the center stands a plain altar with its two sides as usual longer than the ends. Upon first clearing the wall in the antichamber - Between the doorways of the central & R hand sanctuary it has a representation on it in bright colours of one of those sacred boats set on its pedestal which usually ornament the side walls of sanctuaries. - In the space

corresponding on the other side of the ['central door' written here but crossed out] was a shallow niche from whence it was evident that a tablet had been taken out, & near it was a one of larger dimensions remaining in its place slightly attached by cement to the surface of the wall, it was of sandstone & had engraved on it perpendicular columns of characters differing to all appearance from hieroglyphics [Bankes has already referred to these as, 'of an unknown character'.²⁰²] - This Tablet is the only thing which has been removed - The wall behind it proved to have been plastered smooth & whitewashed a presumption that the tablet was placed there subsequently - The doorway connecting this antechamber which we have been describing [D] with that which precedes it in the suite [E] seems to have been arched over within - toward the outside its stone jambs are standing & the architrave lying by them on the ground - in the next chamber [E] being the 2d antechamber towards the front a part at the NE end has been screened off by a thin wall that does not now rise above 3 feet from the pavement - it has 2 projections on its inner face & thus[?] seems to have had no passage thro' it - whether it was ever carried higher is doubtful, in this portion of the room so set apart is a raised platform attached to the end wall at one of its angles in the manner of a couch - its proportions would lead one to suspect that it was a place for a body. - Over it was painted a Boat upon the Water - in the next doorway [between E and F] advancing still towards the front the stone uprights have been forced out - at the SW end of the room into which it opens 2 stone jambs remain erect like those of a doorway - within is a very shallow recess plastered & painted plain white, it would be desirable to break this thro' or excavate behind it, as it may actually be supposed to be the door of some sepulchral chamber blocked up as they usually were - this chamber is severed off from the outermost of those whose extent & proportions are ascertained by 6 piers of stone, the interval between the 2 central of which, served as the entrance - the next interval upon each hand was walled up with brick - whether the extreme ones also were so closed or left open remains a doubt but there is more appearance that [The end of the page is reached here. The opposite page (24) contains a sketch of the river bank and the notes continue on page 126] they were left open - a circumstance makes it very questionable whether these engaging walls be coeval with the piers which they connect - Many[?] concealing stripes of Hieroglyphics in sculpture - beyond these Piers is the most spacious of all the Chambers - 4 piers probably supported its ceiling though 3 only are in their places - of these 2 on the SW side are connected by a wall, the 4th Pier was searched for in vain & may probably be fallen & lying on the level of the floor which the excavations did not reach in that part - on entering from without this apartment of the four Piers on the L hand is a mass like a doorway inclosing a squared topped sandstone tablet sculptured with

²⁰² Might this be Meroitic? There is no evidence of occupation or use of the building after the end of the XXth dynasty (Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, I, 94). However, there is Meroitic graffiti on the gateway of the Court of the South Temple (Camino 1974, I, 14). Bankes is apparently here giving the description of a stela.

figures in the upper part among which the Priapus god is - & below many lines of hieroglyphics conspicuous [the stela of Ramesses I] - Behind this Tablet is a solid mass of brickwork & corresponding to it on the other side of the doorway seems to have been a tablet of similar form which has been prised out or broken²⁰³ - beyond this doorway several lines of wall are discernible running forwards but neither the plan nor extent of them has been ascertained.

The large Temple [the South Temple]

To the SW of the building which has been described is one on a much larger scale - it is so much reduced in height that it appears at first to the eye to consist of mere foundations, but it will be found that it has lost little at the top besides its roofstones & is reduced to its present appearance by the encumbrances that have gathered about it - many of the piers are complete to the very summit & the columns still crowned with their Abacus - All that is visible seems to belong to a great Pronaos of the character of that at Amada tho little intelligible in several details of the plan - the sculpture also is in the same neat finished taste but time & the weather have acted much more perniciously upon the surface here, owing perhaps to the sandstone being of a worse quality - the complete development [i.e. uncovering] of this Pronaos would be a work of some labour since it appears to be encumbered for the most part by masses of solid brickwork, which it is not possible can be original & yet it is not easy to divine a reason why it should have been placed there in aftertimes by Christians or others - after all, perhaps the most interesting search & the easiest might be for the ulterior parts of the Edifice which as they are uniformly lower than the Portico may possibly exist, even intire, but little below the surface -

to the NE of the building just described was another whose body was quadrangular with very thick walls inclining moderately upwards [see plan XII. C. 9] -

the vestiges of a 4th building - which if we may judge from appearances was the most considerable of them all - are reduced to the mere lines of wall discernible on the surface of the sand cutting each other at Right angles [see plan XII. C. 9] -

behind the ruins at less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile's distance in the desert is an insulated[?] rock of an irregular Pyramidical form which has on its surface near the summit several Inscriptions both in hieroglyphics & has what seems a mixed sort of character, the work is rude & has an air of great antiquity.'

Below this Bankes has added some comments at a later time in blue ink as to other temples which show a mixture of brick walls and stone doorways as he had found at Wadi Halfa.

²⁰³ The stela of Seti I, given by PM 129 as being at (3), is described by Randall-Maciver and Wooley 1911, 96 as being likely to have come from there originally since it is a duplicate of that at (4), but it is interesting to note that it was not seen in that place by Bankes.

By 1960 when Caminos made an epigraphic record of the two temples during a single season in 1960, the Southern Temple was the better preserved of the two New Kingdom temples. Caminos 1974, Preface, v, says that 'Of the northern temple not much was left.' 'At the time of our survey the northern temple of Buhen was an utter ruin' and 'almost levelled to the ground' (Caminos 1974, II, 105). This makes Bankes' record particularly important since he was able to record the Northern Temple in considerable detail, both in his Album description, and in the groundplan, XII. C. 7.

Within the North Temple, Caminos 1974, II, 105, found that 'Apart from a few inscribed sandstone fragments which lay scattered upon the sandy ground, the court, the hall, and the three rear rooms were a complete blank epigraphically'). Bankes gives a good account of the remaining decoration of the walls in the Album (see above). He also mentions many architectural details of the building. Neither the details of the plan of the North Temple nor its decorative scheme appear to have been recorded by Gau, Champollion, Rosellini, Prokesch (map), or Lepsius.²⁰⁴

On Gau 1822, 9, pl. 63, c, 'Ruines près Diguem', the plan of the North Temple, shows far less detail than Bankes' version, but he does appear to show the stela (or possibly the 'altar?') in the middle sanctuary. Towards the front of the temple his reconstruction of the pillars is partly hypothetical, and in fact most of the temple plan is in pale grey (i.e. hypothetical) except for key sections of walls which gave him the overall plan. Since he followed Bankes so closely in time, he may have profited by Bankes' excavations, but it appears that the temple walls, of which Bankes was able to describe the decoration, may have either been re-covered by the sand, or as Bankes said, had disintegrated after being exposed.

The South Temple remains did not indicate (Caminos 1974, I, 12) whether or not the court had been open or roofed, and no column capitals were found nor any columns, pilasters or pillars which had not 'lost their upper ends' The capitals do not seem to have been found by Bankes either (he is always particularly interested to note the architectural style of these should he discover them). Bankes certainly found many columns 'quite intire to the very top' and notes on the plan, XII. C. 8 whether the abacus remained in place or not. He concluded that the court had been roofed but gives no evidence to support this theory. The type and position of the columns suggested to him an analogy with Amada, which was roofed.

Bankes makes it clear that the screen walls of the North Temple Forecourt G interrupted the decoration and that therefore they were a secondary construction. According to Smith 1976, 217, (citing Caminos 1974, I, 82-86) 'The South Temple was restored in the time of Taharqa and a new intercolumnar screen wall and possibly a pillared portico

²⁰⁴ These references taken from Caminos 1974, I, 4.

were built in the courtyard in front of the sanctuary'. Randall-Maciver and Wooley, Text, 94, suggests that the screen walls of the North Temple might be of Coptic construction.

According to Ricci's diary they arrived at Wadi Halfa an hour after midday on 20 February 1819 after having seen two temples almost entirely buried under the sand. (After adding a full stop here he writes what looks like 'altri' so possibly he means they also saw others.) They stayed (presumably moored) at the first island and visited the second. The following day, the 21st, was cloudy except when the sun broke through towards midday, but after an hour the cloud returned. [This is the day that the John Hyde Mss notes, 'Ghezirat - Mr S. pitched his tent to remain some days - this completed our journey by water.] There was no wind from then until towards midday on the 24th a very strong Khamsin blew up briefly. When the Khamsin began they were with 'Dewass Caseiff' (the local Cashef) 'per concludere dietro la determinazione di passare la seconda Cateratta'. On the 25th it was cloudy and towards midday a few drops of rain fell and they heard thunder. (Banks himself notes this storm, unusually for him dating his entry in the Album, II, 121, see above). On the 26th it was cloudy in the morning with a strong north wind. At about an hour after midday, they passed over to the west of the Nile, and about an hour later, 'siamo partiti sulla seconda Cataratta'. At this point, having reached the Second Cataract, Ricci's diary apparently ends. (There is one further entry immediately below, but for no reason that can be ascertained it is dated 16 July.)

ANALYSIS

Banks' drawings at Buhen, together with his report in the Album of his pioneering excavations there, constitute a very important record of the remains of the site, both epigraphic and archaeological. Already much ruined in Banks' time, further deterioration of the monuments and the disappearance of the site has made this portfolio of primary importance for an understanding of the temples and the stele found there.

There are only eleven drawings but these include two very fine copies of the long hieroglyphic inscriptions of two stelae, XII, C, 4 and 5. Although these texts have been extensively studied it was not realised that the text of XII. C. 5 showed more information than the text remaining on the actual stela. The original text of the historically important stela, XII. C. 6, is only known from this drawing since much of the actual stela is now missing. All these, and the very detailed fine black ink plans of the site and the individual temples which Banks identified, were made on his 1818-9 journey. The plan, XII. C. 7, together with his Album description, shows the otherwise unrecorded decoration and architectural details of the North Temple, now entirely destroyed. There is only a single view from 1818-19, which is XII. C. 11 made by Linant, and this was for some reason omitted from PM. From the copy of the hieroglyphic inscription around a doorway, XII.

C. 1, we can now link the temple to the goddess Isis, but not show securely that the temple was founded for her or dedicated specifically to her; a question which Caminos was unable to answer without seeing the exact format of the inscription recorded by this drawing. A fragment found by Caminos can now be shown to be from the lintel drawn in XII. C. 2.

The plan, description and watercolour, XII. C. 10, made in 1815, show the state of the site at that time, when it was largely hidden under the sand, prompting Bankes' later excavations.

VIEWS OF THE CATARACTS

Introduction and analysis

The following drawings, XII. C. 12-19, are all described by the PM Manuscript List as being views of the Second Cataract but are not individually identified and are omitted from PM.

Becchey's XII. C. 12 and 13 combine to make up a single panorama which can now be identified as of the fort at Mirgissa. This is described in Finati 1830, 322, as a 'very extensive fortress of the same material [brick], (with wood introduced, and remaining here and there as a bonding,) called Murgheezy, with a few fragments with hieroglyphs on them lying within it.' A previously unidentified drawing can now be added to the former XII. C. 15 to make up a panorama of the Wadi Halfa area naming the furthest southern point that Bankes reached in 1815. XII. C. 15b, formerly XVIII. A. 8, under 'Nubian Forts', is now moved here.

The area of XII. C. 18 can now be identified as 'El Busir', and XII. C. 19 can now be shown to be a view of the First Cataract.

SEMNA- KUMMA

Introduction

'But Semneh, the first point which we reached beyond the southern extremity of the Cataract, is a much finer example [than 'Murgheezy', i.e. Mirgissa] of an ancient fortified post. There is nothing at all like it in Egypt. The fortress itself is square, and of brick, resting upon stone foundations, but on the three land-sides (for the fourth is precipitous to the river) there is a broad dry trench carried all round, faced on both sides with granite, and beyond it a great slanted rampart of the same to the exterior. Upon the granite cliff towards the Nile, a low and narrow covered way descends, which secured a safe access to the water. Within, upon the summit, is a very small temple, in the Egyptian manner, profusely

and delicately sculptured, and a mutilated statue or two, and some finely wrought and polished tablets.

An ancient strong hold of similar construction stands directly opposite, across the Nile, which is very narrow at this point, and interrupted by a chain of rocks, which seem as if they might almost furnish footing for a bridge.²⁰⁵

On their return: 'In this long scramble upon the eastern bank, we had met with no other ancient remains in the Egyptian style, excepting eight or nine pillars at Amarra, and a very diminutive temple opposite to Semneh, within a fortification somewhat similar to that which I described there, but smaller.'²⁰⁶

Bankes himself made no entries in the Album further south than Wadi Halfa, perhaps because of the problems they encountered on their journey.

In 1960, Dunham and Janssen published the excavation reports of George Reisner who worked at the site between 1927-28. As is so often found, no mention is made in this, the main published excavation record of the site, of Bankes' visit or drawings among the other accounts of early travellers who left a record of their visit to Semna-Kumma, although the authors may have been aware of the existence of the drawings through PM.

The west bank fortress of Semna lies about 80 km south of Wadi Halfa by road, and together with the fortress of Semna East (or Kumma) on the east bank, stands guard over the barrier of rock forming the Second Cataract which runs across the Nile to form Finati's 'bridge'. At low water there was a narrow passage through; at high water 'turbulent rapids'. This 'gateway' of Twelfth Dynasty forts controlled both river and caravan traffic.²⁰⁷

At least three cult places existed corresponding to the different occupation periods; Middle Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, and Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The main Eighteenth Dynasty temple, built north of an earlier smaller temple of Thutmose I, is of Thutmose III, and its interior walls were decorated in relief with scenes and inscriptions.²⁰⁸ No significant change in the state of the monument took place between 'the very thorough publication by Lepsius' and the publication of Dunham and Reisner which did not make a 'detailed survey of the decorations and inscriptions'.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, Lepsius has been used here for the purpose of comparison with the Bankes drawings, in conjunction with the photographic record made by Reisner, and by Breasted in 1907. The basic identification of the scenes is taken from PM.

The great chain of Middle Kingdom fortresses of Sudanese Nubia were of mud-brick and could not be rescued from the waters of Lake Nasser, but the temples within them which were constructed of stone were able to be moved. The salvage operations in

²⁰⁵ Finati 1830, 322-3.

²⁰⁶ Finati 1830, 340.

²⁰⁷ Dunham and Janssen 1960, 2.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. 7-8, where the construction of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple is described..

Sudanese Nubia were not financed by a special international campaign as were those of Egypt. Instead, 'The Sudan was aided by several Member States [of Unesco], who covered the costs of dismantling and removal to the National Museum in Khartoum, which had been built with Unesco support'. The cost of the dismantling of the temple at Semna West and its removal to the museum was financed by Belgium; that of Semna East by the Netherlands.²¹⁰ The salvage of the monuments of Sudanese Nubia was under the direction of Friedrich W. Hinkel, and the rescue of the two temples at Semneh and Kumma in 1963-4, among other monuments, is described in his two books.²¹¹

In modern publications, Kumma is also referred to as Semna East, with Semna as Semna West. PM refers to Kumma temple as the temple of Khnum, and Semna West temple as the temple of Dedwen since the temple is dedicated to Dedwen and Senusret III, by Thutmose III.

ANALYSIS

All the drawings (twenty-three of Semna and fifteen of Kumma) are either from 1819, or by Linant in 1821-2, and form a very comprehensive and detailed account of the site and both its temples, although Bankes unfortunately did not leave a description. On the whole the temples have been well recorded and little new detail was discovered by comparison with Lepsius.

Ricci shows slightly more detail in XIII. A. 2 and 4 than is shown in Lepsius, who does not show the alterations to the reliefs seen in XIII. A. 5. In the drawing of the boundary stela of Senusret III no additional information as to the text is given. Bankes is quite ambiguous about the position of the stela (see Introduction above) but the 'tablets' (his word for stelae) were either in or near Semna Temple on the summit; they do not appear in the plans. There are a series of excellent detailed plans of both temples; XIII. A. 12-15, and XIII. B. 9-10, and the views include panoramas of the whole site as well as close-up views of both temples. The addition of two previously unidentified drawings extend views to create the panoramas XIII. A. 21 and 23. There are two plans of Semna fort, XIII. A. 18 and 19. A view now identified as of Philae was placed here in error at XIII. A. 20.

Although less accurate, XIII. B. 5 shows slightly more text than is recorded by Lepsius. XIII. A. 8 remains an unidentified text since it was not recorded by Dunham and Janssen 1960. While XIII. B. 11 and 12 are plans of the fort at Kumma, XIII. B. 13 is difficult to reconcile with these. A previously unidentified view of Kumma by Beechey, XIII. B. 15, can now be added.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. 9.

²¹⁰ Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 145.

²¹¹ Hinkel 1966, Hinkel 1977 (and the English version of this: Hinkel 1978.)

AMARA

Introduction

Bankes did not reach Amara on his first journey, and only just beyond it on his second. According to Finati their return north was made mainly on foot, and 'In this long scramble upon the eastern bank, we had met with no other ancient remains in the Egyptian style, excepting eight or nine pillars at Amarra...' ²¹² (of which we have the record here). The drawings include two by Bankes, made in 1819 and others by Linant made 4-5 September 1821. ²¹³

By the time of the Oxford University excavations in Nubia, 1934-5, all that remained visible of the columns and the gateway of this Meroitic temple on the east bank near Amara were 'one granite column-base and traces of mud-brick foundation walls...' ²¹⁴

Budge describes the temple in the following manner: ²¹⁵ The ruins lay about a mile and a half from the village of Amara. The temple, orientated to the east, was a rectangular building about 55' by 31' and contained eight pillars. The 20' wide gateway to the temple had the remains of a pillar each side of it. The pillars inside were decorated with sculptured relief showing a queen and her consort making offerings to the gods, and a column of hieroglyphs on each pillar gave the name and titles of the builder; apparently native Meroitic names. The name of the queen also appears at Naqa but there the king or prince's name is different.

The site and temple at Amara are described by Vila 1977, Fascicule 8, *Le district d'Amara Est*. A list on pages 21-23, gives earlier descriptions of the site and includes details from Linant's published journal. The question of the whereabouts of the entrance to the temple was still not solved by Vila's excavation (Vila 1977, 37) but interestingly although Linant's written (and published) description is quoted, his plan (XIV. A. 4, unpublished) is not shown. It does not seem to correspond exactly to any of the early plans shown by Vila 1977, 37; 40, Fig. 11, and might possibly therefore, together with the detail of the temple platform shown in Linant's drawing, provide more information. However, the additional columns he drew appear to be hypothetical since Cailliaud's version (his pl. XVII), Budge's description, and that of Griffith 1912, 9, all agree on eight columns in two rows, and in front of them two others flanking the passage-way.

²¹² Finati 1830, 340.

²¹³ Shinnie 1958, 11-13. Linant also passed through the area on his return on 6 June 1822 (Shinnie 1958, 192) but missed his way and apparently did not see the temple at that time.

²¹⁴ Quoted from a note received from L.P. Kirwan on the temple at Amara in *JEA* 22, (1936) *Notes and News*, 101.

²¹⁵ Budge 1907, I, 467.

ANALYSIS

All seven drawings are from the Meroitic temple, now destroyed. As we have seen, Linant's plan XIV. A. 4, while appearing to show additional information, is likely to be in error.

Ricci's drawings of the relief scenes on the remaining columns, XIV. A. 1 and 2, also record parts of the Meroitic hieroglyphic text, however many signs are missing and inaccurate so that it is difficult to reconcile them with Griffith's version (Griffith 1912, 9-13). Linant's version, XIV. A. 3, although tiny, is clearer, but Griffith's missing section remains missing here.

SAI ISLAND

Introduction

Vercoutter 1958, 144, gives a good account of the site and the early travellers who visited it. According to this, Sai, one of the biggest islands in the Nile, 180 km south of Wadi Halfa, lies at the southern end of the Dal Cataract making it 'an excellent military site commanding the river and the distant approach to the Second Cataract area'. 'Archaeological remains in the island date from the Old Stone Age to the Turkish period of the 16th century of our era'.²¹⁶

From this point southward the drawings can only be by Linant or Ricci, since this was the farthest south that Bankes' party reached on his second journey and although they could, tantalisingly, see the ruins on Sai, they were unable to cross over to them.

ANALYSIS

In addition to the single view of the Coptic column remains here, Linant also made a finished watercolour view of the fortress (Shinnie 1958, pl. VI) which Vercoutter calls 'among the most picturesque in the Northern Province'. This drawing does not appear in the PM Manuscript List under Sai Island but was instead placed under the 'Nubian Forts' section under the incorrect title 'Sais' as XVIII. A. 6. It has now been moved here as XIV. B. 1a.

²¹⁶ Vercoutter 1958, 147.

SEDEINGA (ADAYA)

Introduction

The temple of Amenhotep III, at Sedeinga on the west bank a few kilometres to the north of Soleb, is dedicated to Queen Tiye.

See Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 110, and Fig. IV, 31 for a photograph of the ruins shown here. See also Schiff Giorgini, 1965 (b), 112-130 for a description of the site and a list of the early travellers who recorded their visit to it.

SOLEB

Introduction

The great temple of Soleb, 'the finest Egyptian temple in the Sudan', built by Amenhotep III 'who recorded it in an inscription at Thebes' and dedicated it to himself and to Amun, lies on the west bank of the Nile between the Second and Third Cataracts.²¹⁷

The entire first volume of the main work resulting from the modern excavations at Soleb,²¹⁸ Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, is devoted to the accounts of those who visited the site between 1813 and 1907. Schiff Giorgini considered this to be 'la meilleure introduction à une étude scientifique du site' and 'une mine d'informations encore trop souvent ignorée'.²¹⁹ Schiff Giorgini has collected here not only a comprehensive list of travellers with quotations from their accounts but a full and critical study of their published and previously unpublished source material of all kinds. Consequently, all but one (see XIV. C. 3) of the Bankes collection of drawings of Soleb, which comprises seven drawings by Linant, is included and discussed there, together with much detail of Linant's visit to the site, taken from his journal and from the published work of Cailliaud.

The work of Linant at Soleb is dealt with in Schiff Giorgini 1965 a 47-62 and uniquely at present offers the opportunity to compare the versions of his journal and drawings in the Bankes Mss from Kingston Lacy with those of the Linant de Bellefonds Mss at the Louvre Museum, Paris. The two journals contain subtle differences and the drawings have different treatments for the same drawings. Here, the Louvre work is preparatory while the Bankes versions are highly finished.

²¹⁷ Shinnie 1958, 14, note 5.

²¹⁸ Excavations conducted by a mission directed by M. Schiff Giorgini under the patronage of the University of Pisa during the years 1957-1963.

²¹⁹ Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, Introduction, 8.

With very few exceptions almost all the references to Bankes' and Linant's various journeys and travelling companions found in Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, Chapter I, Historique, are correct.²²⁰

Linant had sighted the ruins at Soleb from the east bank on his outward journey on 7 September 1821, 'mais je ne pus aller les voir'.²²¹ He only visited the site on his return, according to his own calculations on 31 May 1822. Here he met Cailliaud, with whom he had been travelling earlier and a quarrel now ensued over various pent-up grievances, following which they became superficially reconciled. The evening of his arrival, after having established himself in a house by the Nile, Linant began work at the temple.²²² He worked all the following day, and according to his own journal, was amused to see that Cailliaud, who made some views using a *camera obscura*, took care to take up the position and viewpoint that Linant had just occupied. Linant observed somewhat maliciously that these would no doubt be the best views that he would have.²²³ Cailliaud dined with him that night before leaving the site. Unable to work the following day because of the strong wind, Linant finished his work at the temple on 3 June, but the wind prevented his leaving until the 4th. His description of the ruins²²⁴ is in the journal entry for 3 June (Shinnie 1958, 186-189).

When discussing Cailliaud's work at this site, Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, 33, points out that she was unable to publish the original drawings and that many of Cailliaud's published plates are by other artists *from* his drawings. She adds that on certain drawings

²²⁰ There remains some slight confusion in Schiff Giorgini's account of 1815-16 (Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, 14-15): 'En 1815, W.J. Bankes, accompagné de Giovanni Finati, pousse jusqu'à la Seconde Cataracte, où il retourne l'année suivante avec G.B. Belzoni et sa femme Sarah....' This 'il' appears to refer to Bankes but in fact probably refers to Finati since Bankes did not make a second journey until 1818. Also, Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, 47, note 7, incorrectly includes Bankes in the group making up Linant's travelling party of 1821-22.

²²¹ Shinnie 1958, 14, 185.

²²² Shinnie 1958, 186. Interestingly, Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, 39, suggests that the figure seated on a column-drum sketching in Cailliaud's drawing of the temple, (Cailliaud 1826, II, pl. XI) could be Linant rather than a self-portrait. Also, Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, 40, points out that in Cailliaud 1826, II, pl. X, of the three foreground figures, the one holding the sextant is no doubt Cailliaud's companion Letorzec, who was in charge of observations, the figure at the centre bending over a dossier of drawings could well be Linant, while Cailliaud might be the bearded figure beside him. All three are shown wearing Oriental dress.

²²³ In fact none of the extant views of Soleb by Linant and Cailliaud are exactly comparable (Schiff Giorgini 1958 a, 19, note 7). The general cry of plagiarism was often particularised by the accusation that even a particular viewpoint had been copied. Finati, or more likely Bankes himself hiding behind his editorial veil, complains of a German (probably Gau) who continually followed them on their second journey and profited by making inquiries among the local inhabitants as to exactly where they had been working. In fact, as Schiff Giorgini here points out, there are inevitably obvious places from which the best views can be taken and these have a tendency to be the same, whether they are nineteenth-century views or more modern photographs.

²²⁴ For a critical appraisal of this see Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, I, 20, where it is remarked that some of Linant's errors are also found in Cailliaud, suggesting that they might have discussed the matter together.

the lighting was purely imaginary, and also that they contained errors, unlike Linant's which were 'd'une incomparable qualité de trait et de précision'.²²⁵

ANALYSIS

All the drawings are by Linant because they were made on his return journey when Ricci had already left him. Schiff Giorgini 1965 a supplies an excellent *critique* of the Louvre version of Linant's journal and deals most thoroughly with the archaeological significance of the drawings. Interestingly it also highlights the differences between the two portfolios of drawings, of which the Bankes versions are generally assumed to be identical 'copies' of preliminary Louvre versions. We can see here that looking at only seven drawings from Soleb not all the drawings are duplicated.

The Salt list gives five drawings for Soleb, his numbers 57-61 under section 'F' for Soleb, and four further 'Large Views'. Of these '57 - view of Isiac column at Seloup' is not represented here but is likely to be XIV. B. 2 of Sedeinga. The numbers '60 - oval of same [hieroglyphs] on D°. [columns]' and '61 - gateway hieroglyphs' are neither found here nor in the Louvre portfolio.

SESEBI

Introduction

Sesebi had contained a ruined temple of Seti I, but by 1907 its stones had been carried off and nothing remained but the ruins of its enclosure walls.²²⁶ Linant had seen and recorded the four standing columns and the bases of others although the rest of the temple had been removed, probably for re-use 'to build some fortified castle'. The temple was orientated to the east and 'stood in one corner of a large enclosure which, judging by the ruins of the walls to the north of it, was strongly fortified.' The columns had palm-leaf capitals and on the bases were reliefs showing the bodies of captives who were differentiated both by their head-dresses and the names of their tribes. The ruins of the ancient town lay nearby.²²⁷

According to PM, the temple is a triple temple of Amenhotep IV, probably dedicated to the Theban Triad and usurped by Seti I. The drawings here show the central temple.

²²⁵ Schiff Giorgini 1965 a, I, 39, 47.

²²⁶ Budge 1907, I, 440.

²²⁷ All the above from Budge 1907, I, 441.

ANALYSIS

Linant made a plan and a view of the ruined temple at Sesebi. Salt also lists two views of the temple, only one of which is found here.

TOMBOS

Introduction

The quarries at Tombos, on the east bank just above the Third Cataract, produce a distinctive grey granite. They contain an unfinished Early Napatan colossal statue, and also rock inscriptions from the Eighteenth Dynasty which show that the quarries were in use at that time. Three other colossal statues, one from Gebel Barkal and a pair from the island of Argo, are all made from the same grey granite of this quarry.²²⁸

ANALYSIS

Of the seven drawings of Tombos, a watercolour, previously unidentified in the Miscellaneous section, has been added as XIV. E. 1a because of its position in the Salt list, although it cannot with certainty be said to be from this area. (The two drawings of the Deffufas at Kerma also appear in Salt's list as numbers 15 and 16 under the heading of Tombos and are described as being a 'broken pyramid'.)

Linant and Ricci both made careful copies of the same stelae at Tombos. This is likely to be because Ricci, who was in any case not actually employed by Bankes on this journey, was putting together a portfolio of his own, which we know he did produce. They evidently did not compare notes however, since the texts of Merymose that they copied are not even very similar.

Ricci's version of part of a text shown as damaged in Sethe on the stela of Thutmose I has been copied into Appendix B. Otherwise no additional information appears to be given in the drawings.

KERMA

Introduction

Kerma was the site of an important indigenous culture whose 'striking growth of political centralization' in its later phase was 'enhanced by the accident of Egypt's contemporary

²²⁸ All the above information from Dunham 1947.

weakness' during the Second Intermediate Period.²²⁹ The 'two large free-standing brick structures'; the Deffufas (the Nubian word for 'ruin') are 'Clearly designed and decorated by Egyptian artisans following Egyptian stylistic and technological models' and 'embellished with dressed-stone floors and column bases' and 'a variety of faience tiles and inlays.'²³⁰

Linant took the ruined brick structures to be the remains of two pyramids. He describes the ruins in his journal, and notes that at the south side of the Western Deffufa, 'le docteur m'a dit avoir vu un piédestal avec le principe de caractères hiéroglyphiques. Il trouva aussi les épaules d'une petite statue en pierre noire qui étaient d'un bon caractère Egyptien.'

ANALYSIS

Linant made two views of the ruined structures at Kerma when he visited them in September 1821 with Ricci.

ISLAND OF ARGO

Introduction

The Island of Argo 'is about twenty miles long, and its southern end is about two hundred and five miles from Wadi Halfa; it lies a little to the south of the head of the Third Cataract, and between it and the fourth Cataract boats can sail up and down the river every day in the year.'²³¹ Near to the middle of the island were two fallen colossi, of grey granite from the quarry at Tombos; one of which was broken in two. Budge considered that they had once stood each side of the entrance to a temple, of which there were no other visible remains by his day.²³² Although Budge thought the site was probably not worth investigation, excavations at the temple of Tabo began between 1965-68, carried out by the Centre d'Etudes Orientales of the University of Geneva, financed by the Henry M. Blackmer Foundation. Remains dating from the Middle Kingdom, the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twenty-fifth dynasty as well as the Meroitic and Christian periods were discovered in the first seasons.²³³

²²⁹ O'Connor 1978, 56.

²³⁰ O'Connor 1978, 59, gives a description of the two structures but no explanation of their function. However Lacovara 1991, 118, refers to the Eastern or Lower Deffufa as a 'great mud-brick chapel'.

²³¹ Budge 1907, I, 556.

²³² Budge 1907, I, 557-8.

²³³ Maystre 1967-8, 193-9.

According to Wenig²³⁴ the two statues probably represent gods and at approximately seven metres high they are the largest surviving Meroitic sculptures. The statues are not identical despite having probably been set up as a pair, and the identity of the gods they represent is not known. They may date from the reign of Natakamani but Wenig considers that 'the rather stocky proportions of both figures suggest that they might as easily date from the late first century B.C.'²³⁵

Both statues were removed to the Antiquities Museum at Khartoum.

Linant visited the Island of Argo and made his drawings on 24 May 1822, on his return journey.

ANALYSIS

Linant made a finished drawing of the broken colossus and a sketch of the other. Contrary to PM Manuscript List he also gave measurements for both. The measurements were omitted from PM.

GEBEL BARKAL²³⁶

Introduction

The ancient Kingdom of Kush had two main centres, Napata and Meroë, but the exact relationship between them remains unknown.²³⁷ 'Napatan' is the name given to the earlier period, lasting from perhaps 900 BC until about 270 BC, while 'Meroitic' is the term used for the later period which lasted 'until the fall of the kingdom' around AD 320. The division between the periods is 'based upon changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the kingdom' which include 'the transfer of the royal cemetery', 'the replacement of Egyptian as the only written language by Meroitic', and 'the gradual advance of indigenous cultural traditions and modes of perception'.²³⁸

Napata was situated at the foot of the 'Holy Mountain'²³⁹ of Gebel Barkal and contained an important religious centre with many temples and two groups of pyramids.

²³⁴ Wenig 1978, 86-7.

²³⁵ Wenig 1978, 87.

²³⁶ I am extremely grateful to Timothy Kendall who looked through the Bankes Mss for this site and was able to tell me which drawings contained information which was not found elsewhere. Some of the drawings had been made available to Dows Dunham in the form of photographs and reproduced in RCK, III.

²³⁷ Priese 1978, 77. The following information is taken from the account of the history of Napata, Ibid., 74-88.

²³⁸ Priese 1978, 75.

²³⁹ A striking flat-topped rock formation rising from the plain, standing above the temples and known to the Egyptians as 'the Holy Mountain'. Its shape is similar to a royal Meroitic cap-crown, with a uraeus at the front.

Near Napata were other royal cemeteries at Kurru and Nuri, and there were also cemeteries near Meroë at South and West Begrawiya for 'members of the ruling family and the upper class'.²⁴⁰ 'During the New Kingdom, Napata had been an Egyptian administrative seat with several small temples.'²⁴¹

George Reisner conducted excavations at the site for Harvard University from 1916 until 1919 but only published preliminary reports on the first season's findings.²⁴² His work was summarised by Dows Dunham fifty years after the excavation.²⁴³

In 1989, Timothy Kendall, director of the third season of the excavations of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, made a survey of the entire temple complex at Gebel Barkal because the last accurate map made of the entire site dated back to that of Lepsius.²⁴⁴

Linant and Ricci appear to have been together at Gebel Barkal on the outward journey. They are certainly together at Kerma (Shinnie 1958, 21) and later just past el Kab (Shinnie 1958, 64) with no mention of quarrels or partings in between. Finati does not mention a separation until they reached Damer.²⁴⁵ Some of the chapel recording seems to have been specifically divided up between them when each recorded separate walls. Other chapel walls and some of the plans are duplicated. Ricci's work was eventually sent back to Bankes but in any case he no doubt wanted his own record. The duplicated plans of Temple B 500; XV. B. 1 and 2, are very similar but not identical. Both artists drew the same sanctuary wall in Temple B 300, XV. A. 18 and 19, and plans of the same chapels, XV. B. 11 and XV. B. 14. Salt's list describes two drawings of Linant's as 'tracings of Ricci's designs'; see XV. B. 6.

One must conclude that Ricci and Linant were working together on the outward journey. Ricci cannot have stopped at Napata on his return as it was said to have been of record speed because of Ibrahim Pasha's illness. Linant states that he saw nothing on his return visit at the end of April 1822 that he had not already recorded (Shinnie 1958, 168). Their workplan for Gebel Barkal appears below:

Pyramid 3, chapel:

south wall.....Linant
north wall.....Ricci
west wall.....Ricci

Pyramid 4, chapel:

²⁴⁰ Priece 1978, 75.

²⁴¹ Priece 1978, 77.

²⁴² According to Kendall 1991, 302: Reisner 1917-20.

²⁴³ According to Kendall 1991, 302: Dunham 1970

²⁴⁴ This new survey map appeared first in Kendall 1990. It was later published in Kendall 1994, 139-145, (site plan: 142).

²⁴⁵ Finati 1830, 382.

rear wall..... Ricci
 north wall.....Ricci
 south wall.....Ricci
 duplication of bark detail on rear wall.....Linant

Pyramid 5, chapel:

rear wall.....Ricci
 left wall.....Ricci
 right wall.....Linant

Pyramid 6, chapel:

rear wall.....Linant
 left wall.....Ricci
 right wall.....Linant
 inscriptions.....Linant

Temple B 300:

columns and texts...Ricci
 Third hall:
 south wall.....Ricci
 west wall.....Ricci
 north wall.....Ricci
 east wall.....Ricci
 Central Sanctuary:
 north wall.....Ricci
 west wall:.....Linant and Ricci
 south wall.....Ricci
 east wall.....Ricci
 West Sanctuary:
 west wall.....Ricci
 east wall.....Ricci
 south wall.....Ricci
 East Sanctuary:
 south wall.....Ricci
 west wall.....Ricci

Temple B 700, pylon:

Interior..... Ricci

Exterior.....Linant

Temple B 500:

Inner court.....Linant and Ricci

Sanctuary altar...Linant and Ricci

Sanctuary:

west wall.....Ricci

north wall....Ricci

Dais near temple.... Linant and Ricci

Hall, column.....Ricci

Inner Court reliefs.....Ricci

Inner Court reliefs.....Ricci

Inner Court reliefs.....Ricci

Inner Court reliefs.....Ricci

Lion, and statue of Sopt:

Linant

Ten views:

Linant

Plans:

Linant and Ricci

As usual the majority of the relief copies are by Ricci and there are plans by him, but no views. Of the ten views of Gebel Barkal made by Linant, three (XV. C. 1, 4, and 5) appear to have no equivalent in the Linant de Bellefonds Mss in the Louvre.

Linant arrived at Gebel Barkal on 6 October 1821 (Shinnie 1958, 43) but, profiting by a strong wind, he seized the opportunity to sail on as far as Nuri, leaving a visit to the ruins of 'Birquel' until his 'retour', although he could see the pyramids and the mountain. This 'retour' was not his return journey, since he actually returned to Gebel Barkal two days later, on 8 October, and remained there excavating²⁴⁶ and recording until 15 October. At Nuri on the morning of 7 October he examined the pyramids which he describes in his journal. That same afternoon he travelled back down the Nile to Gebel Barkal to see the antiquities there. The quantity of temple ruins convinced him that he had

²⁴⁶ Shinnie 1958, 46. The day after his arrival at Gebel Barkal he went early in the morning to the pyramids taking with him 'des hommes pour faire excaver'. Linant also referred to the rock-cut parts of temples as 'escavation'; a descriptive term rather than an indication of actual excavation work.

also found an ancient town. Unlike other travellers he did not believe these to be the ruins of Meroë, despite this name being given to a place a league and a half further downstream (Merowe). He believed (correctly) that these were the ruins of Napata and hoped to verify this by astronomical observations. He copied Meroitic inscriptions and, after investigating the pyramids and their chapels, decided that the burial chambers must be underground. They 'set a number of natives to excavate in one of them, but after a good deal of labour, failed of discovering any passage into the interior.'²⁴⁷ He spent two days working at the pyramids; 'Pour mes dessins je les ai fait avec toute l'exactitude possible et qu'on ne croie pas en les voyant que j'y aye rien ou ajouté ou supprimé.'²⁴⁸ He gives a long and detailed description of what he found at the site, where he could distinguish four separate temples at the foot of the mountain (Shinnie 1958, 46-55). On one of the temples the outside reliefs represented 'un sacrifice humain que j'ai dessiné...'²⁴⁹ Among the ruins he found the remains of two large red granite sculptures of lions (later removed by Lord Prudhoe who presented them to the British Museum where they remain). One was broken into several pieces but the other was almost entire. 'Ils étaient tous les deux dans le même position et se regardaient... J'ai dessiné avec beaucoup de soin celui qui est en un seul morceaux et qui est dans sa place. Je réponds malgré les soins que j'ai pris pour faire un dessin exact que je n'ai pas fait honneur à l'original et qu'en le voyant, on le trouverait beaucoup plus beau que le dessin.'²⁵⁰

On the second pylon of 'le grand temple' he discovered inside '...quelques figures qui sont des sujets de guerre et très curieux. J'en ai dessiné ce que j'ai pu avec bien de la peine.'²⁵¹ Nearby, while excavating the base of a column, he discovered the headless statue of a bird, which he recognised from a similar wooden one in Mr Salt's collection as representing a sparrow-hawk.²⁵² At the end of what he considered to be 'le sanctuaire' he discovered the square altar of fine blue granite of which there are drawings in the Bankes Mss, and in addition, but only found in the Linant de Bellefonds Mss in the Louvre, a view showing the altar in situ.²⁵³ In another chamber, which he thought was that of a separate building, he found a second granite altar or pedestal, but broken in two.²⁵⁴

He refrained from drawing the badly preserved reliefs 'En dedans du temple sur la muraille de côté gauche après avoir passé le second pylone...'²⁵⁵ fearful that he might convey a wrong impression of them. Near the temple, to the south-west, he found a

²⁴⁷ Finati 1830, 378-9.

²⁴⁸ Shinnie 1958, 47.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 49.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 50. This is sadly true, as despite it being a very accurate drawing he somehow misses the general majestic impression of the original, particularly in his rendering of the bewhiskered head which is faintly reminiscent of that of an elderly gentleman.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 50.

²⁵² Ibid., 51, and see XV. A. 42.

²⁵³ PM Linant Manuscript List, B. 32 bis.

²⁵⁴ Shinnie 1958, 52.

pedestal out of its original position 'qui est très curieux tant pour ce qu'il représente que pour sa forme et sa matière... J'en ai fait un dessin qui est la meilleure description que je puisse en donner.'²⁵⁶

On 15 October he went by horse to Merowe where he discovered some reused hieroglyphic blocks in the wall and in front of the door of the house of the 'Melek Chaous, le plus grand des Chaguiés' (see XIV. G. 1).

In their drawings Linant and Ricci both use the technique of a darker line to show up the shadow of the relief. While Ricci's drawings are mainly well finished, there are traces of preparatory pencil work below the finished line which has been corrected slightly. Linant's work, by contrast, is very fine, on a smaller scale, and with no apparent preparatory work, and gives the impression of a fair copy of something made on the spot, (no doubt the Louvre versions). Neither of them seem to have used ink to 'finish' the pencil drawings.

The additional pencil annotations in English on Ricci's drawings, referring to circled alphabetic letters found on Ricci's plans, have been added later by Salt (judging by the style of the hand and his signed explanation on the folder containing the plans). This was presumably done when he checked through the drawings and the plans before sending them off to Bankes, separately from Linant's drawings. Ricci's reference to 'Scavazione' in many of his titles (which do not relate to rock-cut structures) appears to confirm Linant's statement that they were obliged to excavate to reveal certain parts of the site, and Linant's Nubian workers can be seen actually excavating a pyramid in drawing XV. C. 5. Salt also refers to 'excavated temples' (XV. B. 1a). However, Ricci also crossed out the word 'Scavazione' several times on his drawings. Ricci's usual annotations as to the exact position of each relief, double-checked and with errors corrected, include the odd comment and comparison here, such as paint remains.

Some of Linant's annotations use the expression, 'le temple avec l'hotel'. This is presumably his spelling for 'l'autel'; the altar.

The two volumes of The Royal Cemeteries of Kush series which have been used for reference here are Chapman and Dunham 1952, abbreviated here to RCK, III, and Dunham 1957, abbreviated here to RCK, IV. The references to RCK plates (Lepsius) are to reproductions of plates from Lepsius 1849 in RCK.

The pyramid numbering system used here is that used by PM in their plans, which are taken from Reisner. Linant and Ricci used their own number sequence to differentiate the pyramids.

When Linant returned to Gebel Barkal on a later journey in 1826, he found 'bien de changements dans ces ruines' only five years since his first visit. His journal for 12

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 52.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 52-3. See the drawing XV. A. 34.

September 1826²⁵⁷ notes that the site was in a far more ruined state, aggravated by the heavy rains of that year, and there was also evidence of deliberate damage. The 'Tiffonium' (Temple B 300), of which he had made such a beautiful watercolour (XV. C. 2) was now ruined, having suffered the fall of a pillar and a large part of the ceiling, changing the view that he had drawn. He drew this altered view, but there was nothing else to add that he had not already recorded. He noticed new evidence of poorly organised and pointless excavations in his absence, including some under the blue granite altar (XV. A. 30). He considered that if this had been done by a European it could only be 'Mr Broski';²⁵⁸ otherwise it was probably treasure-hunting by a Turk.

ANALYSIS

The portfolio for this site is extensive, carefully drawn, and full of important details.

XIV. G. 1 and XV. B. 13, the house of 'Melek Chaous' and the church at Nelle el Gazalle, are omitted from PM, as being beyond their brief.

Of the section on the pyramid chapels many of the drawings have been published as photographs, nevertheless the Bankes record differs slightly from that of Lepsius in many of them, and some additional details are given. Whether or not paint remains on the reliefs is mentioned in two instances by Ricci. One drawing was wrongly attributed to Meroë, but is now been renumbered as XV. A. 8a.

The record of Temple B. 300 includes details of texts which may not be found elsewhere and have been copied into Appendix B (e.g. XV. A. 15, 17). A line drawn in XV. A. 17, missing elsewhere, is clearly part of the ancient representation of the sacred mountain. There are also differences between these drawings and those of Lepsius.

The annotations on the drawings for this site are of particular interest. Salt's annotations on Ricci's work point out the position of the reliefs he drew; these are marked on the master-plans, XV. B. 16-18. (XV. B. 16 also carries the information that excavation was carried out at this site, this is illustrated in XV. C. 5) The folder (now included as XV. B. 1a) on which Salt explained this system was omitted from PM. Ricci's own annotations are much more extensive at this site than elsewhere. In addition to giving the positions of the subject-matter, they range from descriptions of the type of relief, the extent and type of damage which he found, and detail such as holes for door openings, types of stone, etc. Salt's list now reveals Linant's plan, XV. B. 6, to be a tracing of a drawing of Ricci's which does not appear here.

²⁵⁷ I am grateful to Marcel Kurz for access to this Ms.

²⁵⁸ Likely to be the Italian traveller and geologist G.B. Brocchi, who journeyed to Nubia and the Sudan and died at Khartoum on 23 September 1826, just eleven days after Linant wrote his journal entry. His diaries were published posthumously; Brocchi 1841.

The surrounding walls of the pyramid chapels are shown on various plans, e.g. XV. B. 11 and 14, and 11 appears to show more than RCK. PM omits XV. B. 12; sections of pyramids.

The drawings of the reliefs of Temple B 500 were examined by Timothy Kendall, an expert on this site. One of the reliefs was entirely unknown to him and, together with other details, extends our knowledge of the relief decoration of this temple. It also appears that the reliefs are not all in the positions described in PM. The reliefs shown in XV. A. 35-39 deserve particular attention.

The superb quality of some of the drawing and painting, e. g. the drawings of the Taharka shrine and a watercolour of Temple B. 300, XV. C. 2, are evidence of the meticulous care that was employed in the work from this site, which Linant himself attests in his journal.

The views include XV. C. 1, omitted from PM, the ruins of a temple which can now be identified. Linant has left a superb series of views of the site, including XV. C. 5 which shows a group of pyramids not recorded elsewhere, one of which is discussed in detail in JEA. In the background can be seen Linant's men hard at work excavating a pyramid chapel.

NURI

Introduction

The royal cemetery of Nuri lies 'about one mile south of the Nile and about six miles upstream from Gebel Barkal'. It is one of the three royal cemeteries in the Napatan region.²⁵⁹ (For an account of Linant's presence in Nuri, see the Introduction to Gebel Barkal.)

This was the first group of pyramids in the Napatan area which Linant examined. He considered that the cause of their ruined condition was structural weakness resulting from their material and shape. He was also convinced, after examining their ruined tops, that they had not originally ended in a point but had always been 'tronquées et avaient une petite plateforme sur le haut.'

Although he could see that the pyramids were not all of the same size or shape, he was astonished to find that the ruins of an 'intérieure' pyramid appeared among the rubble of what he took to be another ruined pyramid, 'le plus à l'ouest'. He assumed that the interior pyramid, smooth-faced and of a finer, lighter-coloured stone, had later been

²⁵⁹ Dunham 1950, 5. For the history of the excavation of the cemetery: Ibid., 7-10.

enlarged, but was surprised to discover that the interior pyramid was not on the main axis of the larger one.²⁶⁰

He spent the morning of 7 October 1821 at Nuri, before moving on to the mountain of Gebel Barkal. Despite searching the environs of the pyramids, he could discover no other remains of antiquities there.

The volumes in the series *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, are here abbreviated to RCK, I, II, etc. for the catalogue references.

ANALYSIS

The Bankes Mss contain two drawings of Nuri, both by Linant; a site plan showing the position of the pyramids and a view of the pyramid field. The double pyramid is the subject of his view XVI. A. 2.

MEROË

Introduction

‘If one compares the records and drawings of the early European travellers to the Sudan with the present state of the archaeological sites it is clear that much of the structural substance of the ancient monuments has been destroyed and lost, even during the last 160 years’.²⁶¹

To discover the true site of Meroë was one of the principal objects of nineteenth-century exploration in the area which is now the Sudan; the others being to chart the course of the Nile, and to discover its sources.²⁶² The latter was not apparently part of Linant’s brief. Bankes states his own purpose in funding Linant’s travels in his handwritten title to the second manuscript which Linant produced from that journey: *General Notices upon the principal countries and peoples comprehended in the journey of A. Linant when sent by William John Bankes to seek for Meroe and to examine the course of the Nile*. Finati describes their purpose as ‘following up the discoveries upon the Nile to the southward, with a view especially to fixing the site and examining the remains of Meroë’.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Shinnie 1958, 44.

²⁶¹ Hinkel 1986, 99. The article also contains a bibliography of some of Hinkel’s publications on the pyramids of Meroë.

²⁶² The site was actually discovered by James Bruce in 1772 who correctly identified it with the ‘ancient City of Meroe’; Bruce 1813, IV, 295. A history of those who recorded and excavated the site is given in Török 1997, I, 1.

²⁶³ Finati 1830, 355.

Linant first arrived at the site of ancient Meroë on 9 November 1821 and found himself passing through the ruins of an ancient town where he could see some remains of a temple and groups of ruined pyramids. Having known in advance of the existence of an ancient site at this spot he had already planned to leave a proper visit to his return journey since at present he was hurrying on his way to Shendi where he wished to arrive in time for the Saturday bazaar.²⁶⁴ From there he was to continue his journey to Sennar.

It was not until some months later, on 25 March 1822, that he returned to Meroë from Shendi.²⁶⁵ He and Cailliaud, with whom he had been travelling earlier, had now separated, with Cailliaud going off to examine Musawwarat and 'l'Hardan' (Naqa) which Linant had examined several days before.

Linant spent 25 March-2 April 1822 at Meroë.²⁶⁶ Before arriving at the 'ruines devant les pyramides' (presumably the ruined pyramid chapels) he passed the unidentified ruins near to the Nile which were actually those of the ancient city of Meroë itself. On the first day he explored the upper group of pyramids by camel. The following day, 26 March, he installed himself in a village house and began work at the pyramids. He continued until the wind blew up on the 29 March and he was forced to work indoors, perhaps writing up his journal and finishing off his drawings. He was interrupted by the commotion caused by the robbery of two of his camels. Rushing out without even stopping to put on shoes, he grabbed Finati's gun and gave chase, so furious that he says he would have killed the thieves had he caught up with them. He managed to take a shot at the thief who was riding off with his own camel, but as the ammunition was only small-shot, considered he had probably barely wounded him. Finati and others were sent off in pursuit. Linant learned from his servants that the thief was the Abbadi Sheikh, 'Sahat Walet Nemmer', upon whom he resolved to be revenged.

The storm continuing on the 30 March, he was still unable to return to the pyramids, and so his journal at this point relates Finati's adventures. The latter returned triumphantly having caught up with the thieves, dispensed summary justice, received an apology, and had even managed to obtain a decent dinner at a local village by pretending that he carried orders from the Pasha that less taxation should be paid.

Rumours of general disaffection and armed 'Arab' revolts did not deter Linant from returning to the pyramids on the following day, although he feared for the safety of Cailliaud, who had gone off to Musawwarat. Linant finished work at the pyramids on 1 April and went to look around the quarries and the surrounding area. He visited all the ruins on 2 April, leaving in the afternoon. Under the entry for this date we find his detailed description of the site:

²⁶⁴ Shinnie 1958, 75.

²⁶⁵ Shinnie 1958, 138.

²⁶⁶ Shinnie 1958, 143-151.

There was no Arab name for the pyramids, the valley itself being named after them as the 'Valley of the Pyramids', and Linant himself was unsure which of the three equidistant villages to use for the name of the site which lay between 'Quèqué-cab' [Bagrawiya], 'Danguella' [Dangeil] and 'Assour' [Es Sur]. In the end he settled on the name of the province, 'Cabinna'. It is this name that he wrote in his neat red ink titles on the verso of the drawings, but on the drawings he pencilled the name 'Achour' [Es Sur]. From the evidence of XVI. B. 13, where Cabinna is written over the original pencil 'Achour' it looks as though he at first called the site Achour and then changed his mind.²⁶⁷

Linant recognised that the pyramids represented the tombs belonging to what had been the large town on the bank of the Nile. In the middle of the town ruins he made out the enclosure walls of a large temple of which there only remained six ram-sphinxes and the remains of a small standing statue in black stone. He also found the remains of other stone monuments and a stone pedestal, which he assumed had once held a statue, on a pile of brick.²⁶⁸

He identified two groups of pyramids where we now identify three, since he took the North and South groups to be a single group lying some way off from the West group. Those in the plain [the West Group] between the ruins of the town and the other pyramids were in large part ruined; some were merely heaps of debris and none of their chapels were preserved. They lay a mile and a half from the ruins of the town. He found the arrangement of these pyramids made it awkward to draw an attractive view of them and he does not describe them at length. One of the largest had the remains of an enclosure wall.

The other group [the North Group] were more than a mile and a half distant, and a league from the Nile, and took him a good hour to reach. They were up on the top of a small peak, grouped in a semi-circle. The pyramids were of different sizes and he identified four different types, which he describes. He considered that their broken tops had never culminated in a point but rather had ended in small platforms, on which he surmised from the presence of holes in the stones that something had once been placed.²⁶⁹ 'Aucune de ces pyramides n'avait positivement du sommet, mais elles étaient toutes généralement tronquées, et par là laissaient en haut une petite plateforme sur laquelle on mettait quelque chose, car j'y ai vu des trous dans les pierres pour y emboîter quelque chose. Je n'ai jamais remarqué aucune exception à cette règle et l'on a tort de présumer que

²⁶⁷ Today the name of Begrawiya is also used for Meroë, and RCK uses it to designate the pyramids, e.g. Beg. N. 1. (Begrawiya North 1). PM uses the same numbering system for the pyramids, which follows that made by Reisner. Linant gave his own numbers to those of the pyramids he found most interesting.

²⁶⁸ For the excavation of Meroe city see Török 1997.

²⁶⁹ See Hinkel 1986, 99-105, for his article on the reconstruction work at the North Group of Pyramids. An incised, ancient architectural design for a pyramid was discovered together with actual capstones, and evidence for the presence of vertical wooden poles through the axis of the pyramids. 'The design clearly illustrates a truncated pyramid, thereby confirming our earlier conclusion about an upper platform on a certain height on which the newly found capstones were to be set.'

les pyramides étaient terminée en pointe.²⁷⁰ There had been no access from the chapels into the body of the pyramids, and as he could see from the ruins that the pyramids themselves contained nothing, he was confirmed in his view that there must be underground chambers.

There was spoiled decoration in the interior of the best preserved of the chapels, that of his pyramid N° 6 which had an almost complete pylon, containing reliefs of 'une figure de femme qui fait un sacrifice humain' (see XVI. B. 4). His N° 16 was accounted the most beautiful (see XVI. B. 6). He describes in some detail each of the most interesting twenty-two pyramids and chapels of the North Group in turn, including their construction, state of preservation, remaining relief decoration, and which parts were the subjects of his drawings. He was particularly struck by the desolate situation of the mountains and valley, which gave the pyramids a melancholic effect.

A further group of pyramids lay to the south-east [the South Group]. He assumed them to have been constructed later because there had been no space left on the hill-top. He thought them less interesting than the North Group and he does not describe them. He also discovered that the sandstone for all the construction had come from the extensive quarries nearby.

The ruined town had extended for three miles around. Several previous travellers (including Cailliaud) had equated it with Meroë, and had not troubled to search for other possible candidates for the city. Linant was convinced after discovering the much grander remains at Musawwarat, that Musawwarat instead should be identified with ancient Meroë and that this, his 'Cabinna', had probably only been its port (despite his realisation that it was two days march away).

Walking by the Nile on his last day at the site, 2 April 1822, he saw smoke coming from the village he was living in, and rushing back, discovered one of the houses on fire and his servants moving his effects out of his own house for safety. He immediately set to work to pull down the burning house to try and stop the fire spreading to the others which all had straw roofs. Although he was unable to stop five others catching alight, his own belongings were saved. He managed to rebuff the villagers' demands for compensation by declaring the fire, actually caused by the carelessness of his own cook, to be the work of Allah.

During his stay, Finati left a graffito in the pyramid chapel Beg. N. 10 reading 'Giovani[sic] Finati 1822'.²⁷¹

As has been noted above, Linant did not discover the underground burial chambers although he had worked out that they must exist and may have looked for them. Despite the fact that Ricci records on his drawings finding holes in the Gebel Barkal pyramid chambers where 'Arabs' had been treasure-hunting, there is no mention by Linant of any

²⁷⁰ Shinnie 1958, 145.

les pyramides étaient terminée en pointe.²⁷⁰ There had been no access from the chapels into the body of the pyramids, and as he could see from the ruins that the pyramids themselves contained nothing, he was confirmed in his view that there must be underground chambers.

There was spoiled decoration in the interior of the best preserved of the chapels, that of his pyramid N° 6 which had an almost complete pylon, containing reliefs of 'une figure de femme qui fait un sacrifice humain' (see XVI. B. 4). His N° 16 was accounted the most beautiful (see XVI. B. 6). He describes in some detail each of the most interesting twenty-two pyramids and chapels of the North Group in turn, including their construction, state of preservation, remaining relief decoration, and which parts were the subjects of his drawings. He was particularly struck by the desolate situation of the mountains and valley, which gave the pyramids a melancholic effect.

A further group of pyramids lay to the south-east [the South Group]. He assumed them to have been constructed later because there had been no space left on the hill-top. He thought them less interesting than the North Group and he does not describe them. He also discovered that the sandstone for all the construction had come from the extensive quarries nearby.

The ruined town had extended for three miles around. Several previous travellers (including Cailliaud) had equated it with Meroë, and had not troubled to search for other possible candidates for the city. Linant was convinced after discovering the much grander remains at Musawwarat, that Musawwarat instead should be identified with ancient Meroë and that this, his 'Cabinna', had probably only been its port (despite his realisation that it was two days march away).

Walking by the Nile on his last day at the site, 2 April 1822, he saw smoke coming from the village he was living in, and rushing back, discovered one of the houses on fire and his servants moving his effects out of his own house for safety. He immediately set to work to pull down the burning house to try and stop the fire spreading to the others which all had straw roofs. Although he was unable to stop five others catching alight, his own belongings were saved. He managed to rebuff the villagers' demands for compensation by declaring the fire, actually caused by the carelessness of his own cook, to be the work of Allah.

During his stay, Finati left a graffito in the pyramid chapel Beg. N. 10 reading 'Giovani[sic] Finati 1822'.²⁷¹

As has been noted above, Linant did not discover the underground burial chambers although he had worked out that they must exist and may have looked for them. Despite the fact that Ricci records on his drawings finding holes in the Gebel Barkal pyramid chambers where 'Arabs' had been treasure-hunting, there is no mention by Linant of any

²⁷⁰ Shinnie 1958, 145.

search for treasure. Pyramid N 6, which was in a good state of preservation when recorded by Cailliaud and Linant, was virtually razed to the ground with several others only twelve years later by Giuseppe Ferlini during a successful hunt for treasure.²⁷² Many exquisite items of gold jewellery were found which Ferlini removed from the country and put up for sale. Unfortunately, following the public excitement at this discovery, the pyramids became even more exposed to being ransacked and demolished.

ANALYSIS

This is an extraordinarily accomplished and comprehensive record of the site; it is almost unbelievable that Linant managed it working alone and in barely nine days. Linant provided for Bankes a set of relief copies, plans ranging from site plans to an individual pyramid and chapel, views of the pyramid fields showing every detail of construction and the exact state of preservation of the monuments (with additional notes as to how many courses remained, whether or not they contained reliefs, etc.), and even secondary inscriptions. There is no evidence that any intrusive work or other damage was carried out. His journal provides not merely a detailed description which was tied in to his plans and to individual drawings by his annotations, but analytical conclusions based on his observations. All this was (eventually) presented in a finished state ready for publication. The number of drawings included specifically in his journal, a total of ninety-two, indicate the likelihood that there was a plan for a separate plate volume of some size, which would also have had to be large enough in dimension to show up the detail. The very fine details shown in all the work; reliefs, views, and plans, makes them an important record of this site which has considerably deteriorated since Linant's visit. For example, at that time, the best preserved pyramid still retained its capstone, as can be seen in XVI. B. 13 and 16, although all the capstones subsequently fell and there was so much damage to the remaining pyramids that even their exact form, i.e. whether they had formerly been pointed or truncated, could no longer be discerned. The views of Meroë are all, with the exception of XVI. B. 22, very highly worked-up and finished, even including the treatment of the sky area with cloud effects.

Most drawings bear two numbers. One numbering sequence (numbers 65-79) relates to the asterisks in the text of Linant's *Mss Journal* at Kingston Lacy, the other (numbers 99-114) relates to Salt's list of Linant's drawings being sent back to England under the heading 'J - Pyramids near Shendi'.

The royal cemeteries of Meroë are documented in the series *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*: Chapman and Dunham 1952 (abbreviated here to RCK, III), Dunham 1952 (abbreviated here to RCK, IV), and Dunham 1963 (abbreviated here to RCK, V). The

²⁷¹ See Zach 1988, 119 and Abb.1.

volume RCK, III illustrates in line-drawing and photographs the decorations in the chapels of the pyramids at Meroë, including reproductions of early copies by Linant and others, while RCK, IV covers eight pyramids at the eastern edge of the South Cemetery at Meroë, one outside its limits, and the entire North Cemetery. The major part of the South Cemetery and the entire West Cemetery are dealt with in RCK, V. Earlier publications are given in PM.

The Bankes drawings are referred to in the text of RCK, and photographs appear in RCK, III, so that it might seem reasonable to assume that any additional information provided by these drawings is known. However, because of the reduced scale of the reproductions, comparisons with Lepsius' work have been included here. As usual, the identity of the artist and the often faint annotations do not seem to have been taken into account. As a result, the fact that the Meroë record was made only by Linant and did not include work by Ricci was not recognised and has led to the erroneous inclusion of XVI. B. 9, a drawing from Gebel Barkal by Ricci, as part of the Meroë record, while a further drawing was misattributed to Musawwarat (XVII. B. 17 now XVI. B. 2a). This is the drawing Linant tells us in his journal he made of 'une figure curieuse' from the chapel of his pyramid N° 2 (PM, N.2.). He describes this pyramid as ruined but having a well-preserved chapel containing reliefs in a different style to the others at Meroë, and similar to those he had seen at the small temple of Wadi Banat (a Meroitic temple now destroyed). The drawing appears to show slightly more detail than the RCK photograph of the relief.

A Meroitic inscription on XVI. B. 15 appears to be from PM, N. 18 rather than PM, N.19.

The finished version of the preliminary drawing of a view, XVI. B. 22, appears to be with the Linant de Bellefonds Mss in the Louvre.

The importance of the very fine and detailed record of the decorated chapels made by Linant at Meroë is emphasised in RCK, III, 1, where it is stated that although the site was recorded by Waddington and Hanbury (1820), Cailliaud (1821-22), Hoskins (1833), and Budge (1897-1905) their descriptions were 'without illustrations of value for the purposes of this study'. With the exception of one or two tiny details, given in the catalogue, little is shown in addition to Lepsius' versions.

Photographic reproductions of some of Linant's drawings at Meroë are published in RCK, III as follows:

XVI. B. 1...RCK, III, pl. 32B

2..... 32A

2a..RCK, III, pl. 27B

3..... 32C

4..... 31F

²⁷² Ferlini 1837.

5.....	30A
6.....	30F
7.....	30E
8.....	32D

Unfortunately the scale and quality of the photographs is fairly poor in comparison to the actual drawings.

A further three of the drawings have been published in Shinnie 1958: XVI. B. 10, plan of the Northern Group of Pyramids (Begrawiya) as pl. XV. Also, XVI. B. 16, one of the pyramids from the Northern Group at Meroë (Beg. 18) as pl. XVI, and XVI. B. 7, relief from a pyramid chapel wall at Meroë as pl. XVII.

The sequence of the Bankes drawings in this catalogue continues to follow the PM numbering in a topographical order (north to south) although this is not the chronological order in which Linant recorded the sites. Thus Meroë appears here before Musawwarat or Naqa, although recorded by Linant later, on his return.

PM pyramid numbers are taken from Reisner, and are used here. 'N.' refers to the North Group, 'S.' to the South Group, and 'W.' to the West Group. RCK uses the same numbers after the abbreviated site name, i.e. 'Beg.' for Begrawiya (Meroë). Linant used his own system of numbers, which can be seen on his plans.

WADIBANAT

Introduction

Linant recorded the temple at Wadi Banat a month before his second visit to Meroë, but following the topographical order of the PM sequence, it appears here after Meroë.

On 20 February 1822 Linant left Shendi to visit Musawwarat. After five and a half hours march, and directed by a guide given to them by Sheikh 'Sahat' of Shendi, they arrived at the small temple of 'l'Ouadé l'Benattes - Vallée des Filles', which they found to be 'entièrement ruiné'.²⁷³ Linant described it as a small square chamber covered inside and out with reliefs, but not in the Egyptian style. It was in fact Meroitic. As he was in a hurry to reach Musawwarat he put off drawing the temple until his return.

On his way back from Musawwarat to Shendi on 24 February, he stopped again at the temple which lay on the peak of the mountain which could be seen from Shendi.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Shinnie 1958, 114.

²⁷⁴ Shinnie 1958, 122.

ANALYSIS

There are only two drawings from Wadi Banat; a view of the ruins of the temple and a detail of an unusual figure from the reliefs. The temple is now destroyed except for its foundations.²⁷⁵ Linant says in his journal that he only drew this one figure from the outside of the back of the temple as he found the other reliefs too indistinct to copy. Lepsius, however, was able to copy the fragmentary reliefs from the interior (Lepsius 1849, V, 68e), as well as the figure copied by Linant (Lepsius 1849, V, 68f). Linant's view of the temple shows some of the figures of the interior relief scenes, which appear to have been quite large, but they are drawn very faintly. The scale is too small to contain any detail, although one can make out the size and position of some of the decorative scheme.

MUSAWWARAT ES SUFRA

Introduction

Budge called Musawwarat es Sufra 'the largest and probably the most perplexing of all the groups of ruins in the Sudan... [the ruins] lie on the older of the two routes between Shendi and Nagaa, about thirty miles from the former place'.²⁷⁶ The exact functions of the structures found there are still not understood today, although the wealth of decorative detail has led to numerous different hypotheses.

The main group of ruins are within a large enclosure and according to Hoskins, who visited the site in 1832-3, contained 'chambers, courts, corridors and temples'.²⁷⁷ Outside the enclosure were further temples, other buildings, and the ruins of reservoirs, but no ruins of any ancient town.

It remains one of the most impressive sites in the Sudan and 'the largest Kushite structure known' and it is not difficult to see why Linant took it to be the site of the ancient city of Meroë. Today the earlier identification of the main central structure as a temple is in question, while other structures within the enclosure are considered to have been connected with the ceremonial function of the site and have been interpreted as a palace complex. Unusual features of the site include ramps and the representations of elephants. Welsby considers that if it is considered as a cult centre the enclosures may have been for the accommodation of pilgrims. Other theories which have been suggested are that 'this was a centre for the training of war and ceremonial elephants' or that 'the enclosures were used to house the animals required for the cult ceremonies'.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ PM, 262.

²⁷⁶ Budge 1907, 146-151, gives a description of the structures at Musawwarat and their decoration.

²⁷⁷ Hoskins 1835, 100, quoted in Budge 1907, II, 147.

²⁷⁸ Welsby 1996, 143-6.

The site was also recorded by Cailliaud, who visited it just after Linant from 26 March-1 April 1822. Excavation and study of Musawwarat continue, and a German expedition is now working there.²⁷⁹

After leaving Shendi on 20 February 1822, and passing and examining the temple at Wadi el Banat, Linant arrived at Musawwarat on the same day after a seven hour journey.²⁸⁰ He immediately had his tent set up and went off to see the ruins which he initially considered to have been those of a 'forteresse-couvent', later changing his mind and calling it a palace.²⁸¹ Unusually for him, at some point he decided to leave an inscription on the north wall of the inner temple to commemorate his visit. Perhaps he was motivated by a desire to stake his claim to be the first European to have visited the site (he was to be ahead of Cailliaud by just one month).

'L'AN DE JÉSUS 1822

LOUIS LINANT A VISITÉ CES RUINES RENOMMÉES IL EST VENU MANDÉ PAR L'ANGLETERRE ET IL A PÉNÉTRÉ JUSQU'AU ROYAUME DE SENNAR GRACE AUX CONQUETES D'ISMAEL PACHA GÉNÉRAL DES ARMÉES DE SON GRACE MAHAMET ALI VICE ROI D'EGYPTE.²⁸²

Perhaps Linant should have put the actual date rather than just the year, for Cailliaud then left a similar inscription at Musawwarat in an almost identical format and wording to this.

Linant worked at Musawwarat from 20-24 February 1822 and left a detailed description of the site.²⁸³ He noted that all the structures, which he thought to be temples, were built on platforms, and his description pays particular attention to the different levels of the site, and the non-Egyptian style and subject matter of the reliefs. He refers to different parts of the site by a key of numbers and letters which he says are found on his plan. These numbers and letters however do not appear on the only plan in the Bankes portfolio, XVII. B. 9, 10.²⁸⁴ Whether by error or intent, Linant himself kept the key version of this plan, and it is now with his other drawings and papers in Paris.²⁸⁵

He believed that the 'appartements attachés à chaque temple' signified that the Great Enclosure must have been either a monastery or a college. Unlike Cailliaud, he thought that the structures outside the Great Enclosure were those of a town, and this, together with a

²⁷⁹ Papers on the latest work taking place at Musawwarat, and also at Meroë and Naqa were given at the Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies, London, September 1996. I am grateful for the kind help of Pawel Wolf, Friedrich Hinkel, and Janice Yellin who looked through the drawings and gave me much useful information. For reports on previous excavations see Hintze 1962b 170-202; Hintze 1962a; Hintze 1963, 217-26; Hintze 1967-8, 283-98;

²⁸⁰ Shinnie 1958, 114.

²⁸¹ The two differing versions of his journal are described below.

²⁸² See Whitehead 1926, 66, as quoted in Shinnie 1958, 115.

²⁸³ Shinnie 1958, 115-121.

²⁸⁴ Shinnie 1958, 116, note 1, points this out, assuming the annotated copy to 'have been mislaid'.

²⁸⁵ Bibliothèque du Louvre Mss 269, 39 and 40. I am most grateful to Marcel Kurz who kindly gave me his unpublished provisional catalogue entries for this manuscript.

faulty etymology for the name 'Mésaorat' and the presence of many Greek inscriptions, led him to believe the site to be that of Meroë. He believed the rest of the brick ruins of the town to have been destroyed by rain, or simply by time. The port for this site he thought would have been either near the pyramids of Begrawiya (actually the site of ancient Meroë) or else 'l'Canisse' (Wadi ban Naqa). He had a note from Bankes to the effect that Meroë was seventy miles from the river, and he persuaded himself that if this were taken as the distance to its port rather than to the river, then Musawwarat was Meroë, and Begrawiya (and not 'l'Canisse') was merely its port.

On a more domestic level, Linant noted that at Musawwarat Finati killed a large species of antelope which furnished them with meat for several days, and the Arabs then used the fat of the animal for 'la pomade... pour faire leur toilette'.

Although a new terminology and numbering system now exists for the site, the old names in use in PM are given here for consistency. (The South East Temple is now known as the Lion Temple; the Great Temple as Temple 100; the Small East Temple as Temple 300; the Northern Temple as Temple 200; the Great Enclosure as IA).

A note on the text of the journal from Musawwarat

The text of the Linant Mss Journal from Kingston Lacy, transcribed and published by Shinnie, is not identical to the unpublished version of the manuscript which Linant retained, now in the Louvre. Linant's description of this site is no exception, and between the two versions the text has been extensively re-written.²⁸⁶ Not all the differences are noted here; only those of particular interest or that might have some bearing on the interpretation of the archaeology. The text given here is that of the Linant Mss Journal from Kingston Lacy, as transcribed and published by Shinnie; additions and differences found in the Louvre version are shown in square brackets.

The following entries are from Shinnie 1958, 115-20, in the journal for 20-24 February 1822:

'Ces ruines... paraissent avoir été un palais [avoir servi de foreresse-couvent]...' (Shinnie 1958, 115)

'La colonne marquée Y ... [Je l'ai dessiné aussi exactement qu'il m'a été possible et j'en ai pris des mesures.]' (Shinnie 1958, 116)

'Ce sont les sculptures de ces colonnes, les seules qu'il y ait dans ce temple, excepté deux colosses... [deux colonnes...]'. (Shinnie 1958, 117)

²⁸⁶ Having for this site a transcription of both the journals, it was possible to make a comparison between them. Marcel Kurz, who generously provided me with his transcript of the Louvre journal (Louvre Ms 264, 3, Livre III) for Musawwarat and the benefit of his comments, is presently transcribing the entire Louvre version, together with Linant's other manuscript journals. He was also kind enough to send me a provisional copy of the annotated plan of the Great Enclosure. (The Louvre version of the journal for Soleb from this journey has been published in Schiff Giorgini 1965 a.)

Following Linant's description of 'chambre G': '...il y a un petit portique [F] que [qui] est à l'entrée d'un long corridor qui conduisait de grand temple à un autre, [E]...' (Shinnie 1958, 117)

'...un autre petit portique [marqué] V [qui selon moi ne peut être que le lieu de purification]... [Devant la portique F il y avait un escalier pour entrer dans le corridor, et à l'entrée de cet escalier un petit portique et deux autres pièces, mais il est entièrement détruit.]' (Shinnie 1958, 117)

Temple H, 'avait à son entrée deux colosses dont il ne reste plus que les pieds [bases]'. At temple C, 'On montait à ce portique par un escalier très doux [On parvenait à ce portique par une pente douce, ou un escalier...]'. (Shinnie 1958, 118)

Of Temple D, 'Sur la droite du portique il y avait plusieurs chambres [N] séparées du temple par un corridor. Devant la terrasse étaient deux autres chambres [était une autre chambre...] ...jusqu'au colidor(sic) qui paraît conduire au grand D [jusqu'au long corridor qui communiquait avec les deux temples A et D.] Sur la gauche [du temple] était un passage conduisant [qui conduisait] à une autre terrasse où il y avait encore des appartements [M], et [mais] non un temple...' (Shinnie 1958, 119).

Inscriptions were found, 'sur la cour [coin ouest] du grand temple...' (Shinnie 1958, 119)

The fascinating reliefs of the South East temple are described as '...plutôt des sujets Persans ['plutôt des sujets grecs]...' ²⁸⁷ (Shinnie 1958, 120).

These, and other alterations, indicate changes in his thinking (including his theories on why this site was to be identified as Meroë) as well as changes in the arrangement of the material. There has been a carefully thought-through reappraisal rather than simple copying between the two versions. The addition of letters for the key, and the corresponding annotated master-plan provided by the Louvre version, provide additional evidence for study.

ANALYSIS

Linant made sixteen drawings at Musawwarat including architectural details, reliefs, secondary inscriptions, plans of the Great Enclosure and the South East Temple (Meroitic), and views. His important journal description of the site is as usual linked to his drawings, and the homogenous nature of his work at the site is now increased by the finding of his

²⁸⁷ Since other evidence shows that the Kingston Lacy version seems to have been the elaborated version for Banks, and the Louvre version presumably the original, it looks as if the idea of borrowings from further east, Persia or India, referred to here as 'Persan' did not originate with Linant's notes made on the spot, but perhaps came later from Salt (see Salt's list 115: 'figures on Columns very curious like Indian sculpture'.) This was not a new idea and was prompted by the scholarly researches which had been carried out in Calcutta by men such as the orientalist Sir William Jones who founded the Bengal Asiatic Society

key-plan. Access to this Louvre version of the plan of the Great Enclosure has allowed the position of various items mentioned by Linant but previously unplaced to be identified. In addition, some details which he drew can also now be identified in situ on the large view XVII. B. 16. Shinnie's query on the position of XVII. B. 1 can now be resolved, and a new identification given for the position of the column on XVII. B. 2. An explanation of why Linant had incorrectly identified his drawing XVII. B. 1 as being of Wadi Banat is suggested.

Slightly more detail can be seen in some of the reliefs shown in XVII. B. 3 than are shown on Lepsius' version. XVII. B. 8a is a previously unidentified copy of the inscriptions of XVII. B. 8 and contains additional material said to be copied by Finati. Drawings XVII. B. 1, 2, 5-7, 8, 9-10, 14, and 16, have been published.

For this site I was provided with information about the Louvre versions of the drawings and the journal. Comparing these with the Bankes Mss versions shows that there are significant differences between the two journals; in particular in Linant's interpretation of the site. (A quick glance at the drawings portfolio when in Paris revealed that these too are not all exact copies of the Bankes Mss.)

NAQA

Introduction

The settlement at Naqa, with two hafirs and two cemeteries, lies alongside the large Wadi Awatib, 29 km from the Nile and further up the valley leading from Wadi ban Naqa. The surviving religious buildings have been extensively studied, but, until recently, there has been no excavation elsewhere in the town and only one grave in the south cemetery has been investigated. Welsby believes that the function of the other buildings will only be determined by excavation, although they all appear to have been 'of monumental character'. He also considers that a greater rainfall than exists in today's climate would have been required to maintain a large sedentary population throughout the year since other than the hafirs (reservoirs) 'no other water storage facilities have been observed'.²⁸⁸ (Linant himself comments that apart from what he took to be a reservoir he found 'aucune rest ni de cisternes ni de puits'.)²⁸⁹

The best preserved of the temples of the indigenous lion-headed god Apedemak is his temple at Naqa which dates to the reigns of Natakamani and Amanitare.²⁹⁰ 'This temple, from the depiction of known rulers, dates to somewhere in the late first century BC

in 1784. Light also speculated on the connections between Indian and Egyptian culture in the preface to his book, published in 1818 (pages xiii-xiv).

²⁸⁸ Welsby 1996, 150-51. For the excavated grave see Hintze 1959, 171-96.

²⁸⁹ Shinnie 1958, 129.

to the early first century AD. Close beside it is a temple of distinctive and unusual style showing very strong influence from Graeco-Roman Egypt and usually known as the "Roman Kiosk". It has been variously dated to either the third century AD or to the second half of the first century AD. There is also, on the lower slope of the hill which overlooks the site, a temple to the god Amun [Linant's 'Great Temple'] which contains inscriptions showing that it also was built in the time of Natakamani and therefore was contemporary with the Apedemek temple.²⁹¹

The site is now under detailed re-investigation by the Egyptian Museum Berlin Naqa Project which has completed two initial field seasons at Naqa since 1995. Because the site had remained undisturbed, it was possible for a surface survey to trace the plans of many buildings which lie just below the covering sand, in order to replace and expand the plan of the site made by Lepsius in 1845.²⁹² At the same time, the architectural and structural features of the remains of the standing structures are now being recorded and studied, after the clearance of windblown sand and fallen stone.²⁹³ In 1996, the Lion Temple was investigated.²⁹⁴

After his visit to Musawwarat and then his return to Shendi, Linant set out for Naqa on 27 February 1822. He was without Finati, who was suffering from an attack of dysentery, but was instead accompanied by a Greek who had arrived the preceding day from Egypt. Their journey took them past some ruins 'd'un petit monument dont on ne voit que les fondements des murailles. A cet endroit est le passage par la montagne qui conduit à Mesaorat'. They arrived at Naqa on 28 February and remained there until 4 March (Shinnie 1958, 124-131). On the advice of his guide, Linant put up his tent inside the temple out of sight and kept the camels in a state of readiness in order to safeguard their party against an attack by 'Arabes Chouqueris'.²⁹⁵

Linant was told that the name given to the ruins was 'l'Hardan' from the name of the nearby mountain (Gebel Hardan), and that the many trees and bushes were the result of the large quantity of rain which fell in the rainy season. The valley was full of wildlife: antelope, gazelles, wild donkeys, hares and guinea-fowl. Linant says that one night he heard the roar of a lion.²⁹⁶

Linant distinguished the ruins of a large town of which only four monuments remained, but the plentiful ruins were evidence of many other monuments, some up to two miles away. Linant gives a very detailed description of the remains of the monuments, and he also identified the quarries.

²⁹⁰ Welsby 1996, 119-120.

²⁹¹ Shinnie 1996, 111-112.

²⁹² Frey and Knudstad 1996, 138.

²⁹³ Kroeper 1996, 158-9.

²⁹⁴ Hinkel 1996, 141.

²⁹⁵ 'Cette meme vallée conduit au pays des Arabes Chouqueris...' (Shinnie 1958, 130, and Shinnie's note 1, that 'The Shukriya were virtually lords of the Butana at this time'.

Linant remained anxious about the possibility of an attack throughout his stay. He sent off the other camels, baggage, and men on 3 February, only remaining with his guide and their own camels in order to finish off his work, which he finally accomplished at midnight. The following day he was prevented from recording one of the stone rams and 'quelques remarques sur les hiéroglyphes' by the arrival of some armed Arabs who chased them out of the valley. Luckily their camels were fast enough for them to make their escape.

Four of the drawings of Naqa are published in Shinnie 1958, as pls. XXV-XVIII.

ANALYSIS

Linant made sixteen drawings at Naqa, and one, XVII. C. 13, at Wadi Ban Naqa.

The drawings of Naqa, especially of the reliefs, XVII. C. 1-8, are of an exceptional quality and a very high finish, using the most delicate pencil shading. The reliefs are quite well-known and the drawings made by Cailliaud and Lepsius often reproduced so that it was surprising to find how unfaithful Cailliaud's appeared to be when compared to the work of Lepsius and Linant. In the latter, the similarities between them and the attention to detail, appear likely to be a better reflection of the original. On close examination there were numerous small differences of detail between the records of Lepsius and Linant, which are itemised in the catalogue; some of these (e.g. XVII. C. 1) show additional information.

XVII. C. 9-12 are a series of plans including groundplans of the Great Temple, the Lion Temple, Roman Kiosk and the Small East Temple, and there are two site-plans. On XVII. C. 9, Linant notes his discovery of a ram-sphinx, either inside or outside the rear wall of the Great Temple, and the remains of a construction of Roman-type brick on the temple ramp; neither of which are shown by Cailliaud or Linant. In a paper given in August 1998 at the Ninth International Conference of Nubian Studies in Boston, Dietrich Wildung stated that the last season's work by the Naga Project of the Egyptian Museum Berlin had just revealed the (to them previously unknown) presence of this thirteenth ram, now considered to represent a further ram avenue beyond the rear wall. Also an intrusive brick tomb had been discovered on the temple ramp (personal communication).

XVII. C. 13-17 are highly finished views, notable for the details both of construction of the monuments and for the positions of the fallen blocks.

²⁹⁶ The presence of lions in the area is confirmed by Hoskins 1835, 96-7.

EPILOGUE

LINANT DE BELLEFONDS (1799-1883)

Louis Maurice Adolphe Linant de Bellefonds had arrived in Egypt with the party of Count Forbin in December 1817, after travelling through Athens, Constantinople, Ephesus, Acre and Jerusalem.¹ Born in Lorient on 23 November 1799, his father the 'arrière petit fils du Marquis de Bellefonds, Maréchal de France' was a 'capitaine de frégate'. After a good education with the accent on mathematics and drawing, he was destined for a career at sea. Linant passed his examinations in 1814, and by the following year was on board 'Le Huron', charting the coast of Newfoundland and Canada. He was later midshipman on a ship of the squadron which left Toulon 12 August 1817, carrying Forbin and Huyot to Greece and the Near East.²

Forbin describes him as a 'jeune élève de la marine, qui avait quitté la *Cléopatra* pour s'attacher à M. Prévost', and again as 'un jeune volontaire, M. Linant, avait quitté la frégate, et suivait M. Prévost pour l'aider dans ces opérations'. The artist Prévost's nephew and assistant, Cochereau, had died *en voyage*, Huyot their draughtsman was injured, and Linant had taken their place. According to Mazuel, Linant was left in Cairo with Prévost, 'si connus par ses beaux panoramas', to make a panorama of the city while Forbin went into Upper Egypt.³ Forbin introduced him into the service of Mohamet Ali where he spent six months acting as an architect and also overseeing the cutting of a new canal, before joining Bankes.

Despite his youth and relative inexperience in 1817, by the early 1820's Linant was an independently-minded, even stubborn, man, of some self-esteem. He remained dependent on his patron Bankes, but was manipulative enough to threaten withholding his portfolio of work as a bargaining point in his dealings.

There were delays in getting Linant to leave for Meroë as arranged. The preceding Sinai journey with Ricci in September 1820 was not planned by Bankes, although he ultimately received the resulting drawings. As Linant explained, Salt had heard of the hieroglyphs and antiquities in Sinai and a particularly interesting Egyptian monument which Mr Hyde had spoken of and Niebuhr had visited. Their projected 20-day journey had taken two months because of his near fatal illness. Dr 'Ritchi' had saved him, but the

¹ Forbin 1819 a, 9, says they left Damietta 22 December 1817.

² See Mazuel 1937, 5. Huyot injured his leg at Milo and was left on the *Cléopatra* which sailed on to Smyrna, while the rest continued to Athens on the *Lézard* (Forbin 1819c, 15). Huyot was still at Smyrna when Forbin left Egypt, 'collecting on my account, antique materials in Asia Minor and Upper Syria' (Forbin 1819a, 73-4).

³ While this is not explicitly stated by Mazuel's sources, Forbin and Vidal Bey, Linant does not feature among Forbin's companions for the voyage to Upper Egypt (Forbin 1819 a, 29-30). Linant, therefore, might not be included in the group portrait of Drovetti, Forbin and their excavation teams, as suggested by Fiechter 1994, 130.

illness recurred after his return to Cairo, delaying his planned journey to Meroë.⁴ The drawings made on the expedition to Siwa had been sent back to Bankes by April 1821, and were also to illustrate the *Voyage à l'Oasis de Syouah*, published by Jomard in 1823.

There were further delays at the beginning of 1823 when, the journal and the portfolio of the journey now complete, Linant, to Bankes' fury, refused to board a ship for England until he was assured of a welcome reception and fair treatment. This constituted payment of his debts, an advance, and permission to stop in France on his return. He reduced Bankes to churning out long, furious letters to Salt in Egypt; the Meroë journey, after all, had ended on 24 July 1822. Salt finally made Linant sign a receipt for the list of drawings and a Greek papyrus, to ensure that they were all handed over to Bankes.

Salt's list was made out 8 February 1823, when Linant was due to leave for Alexandria and England, but there were 'new difficulties' as 'he cannot and will not leave Cairo without money'.⁵ Some monies were advanced 'and he has finally departed for Alexandria' carrying with him 'all his drawings, a copy of a short history of the Kings of Sennaar in Arabic and the Papyrus...'

Salt was over-optimistic, for letters were still arriving from Linant in Cairo at the end of March. Thirteen letters passed between Salt and Linant over money, culminating in a furious letter from Bankes regretting that his contract with Linant had only been an unwritten gentleman's agreement. The drawings being 'still in his hands' and with ownership of the papyrus disputed, Linant held out for more money. Linant was insistent but never aggressive, submissively running through a gamut of excuses including: the plague season, misunderstandings, drawings to be finished, missing the boat, the need to revisit his family in France, a near-shipwreck, debts, proposals to visit Beni Hassan and Aswan, and the difficulties of transporting the Maharraka granite base for the obelisk.

Linant 'talks of travelling like a gentleman through France and pretensions of that sort,' thunders Bankes. 'They are quite out of the question' and he must come directly. 'Remind him that his coming to England was actually a part of his agreement with me, & he must very well remember that so soon as he had got to Meroe his next step was to be that of joining me here... What is Linant to be doing in the Upper Country that I am to be paying him a salary? ...it is not enough to talk to me of finishing drawings for this could be done anywhere else as well'. If Linant is making collections, he hopes that Salt has insisted they are for Bankes. Linant should have gone into the Upper Country at once, the journey to Mount Sinai was 'so far as my views are concerned so much time lost, & gave the young man dilatory habits.' The whole thing should have been accomplished in one year and not three. If Linant had failed to get all the stones back from Maharraqa, it was because he had not followed Bankes' extremely detailed instructions as to the measurements, weight, and methods of transport. But, despite all this, Bankes still

⁴ HJ 1/147.

retained 'a feeling of kindness for Linant' and a 'sincere regard that an intimate observation of him for so long had originated.'⁶

Salt also found excuses for him; '...a too great love of dress as well as of the fair sex are his weak points [one of Linant's requests to Bankes is for additional funds to help pay for the expenses of a baby] and are the natural faults of his age'. He intended coming to England 'dressed as a Turk... and I believe it to be his intention to appear in that costume in England, which, as he will no doubt be a great lion, is not I think, objectionable... You must watch over him while in London.'⁷ Linant finally arrived in England in 1824, joining Finati whose presence was required for the deposition against Buckingham.⁸

Linant had copies of his drawings but Bankes retained the copyrights. On 19 September 1824, Salt wrote, 'I send home by this ship a leather case containing duplicate drawings by Mr. L-, which he left in my hands'.⁹ In December, Linant, now in England, asked Bankes to send them to him as soon as possible so that he could correct any errors in the drawings, which were partly originals and partly copies.¹⁰ Bankes' fears that they might be spoiled were groundless; 'comme ce ne tous que des esquisses cela n'est pas a craindre'. The journal, portfolio, and the map of the voyage to Mount Sinai were brought to a finished state. 'Mahomet [Finati] qui ne se diverti pas beaucoup me prie de vous presenter ses respects' and he himself sends his compliments to 'Bitchi' [Beechey].

In August 1825, Linant requested permission to send copies of the Siwa and Sinai portfolios to his father in France, in order to try to sell them. His copies of the Meroë portfolio were safely in his father's care in case of his death, but would not be disposed of without Bankes' agreement. These drawings were retained by his family, and are now held by the Louvre Museum.

For some reason, Bankes was never to publish Linant's work. Linant's father wrote to Bankes in 18 October 1828,¹¹ asking for an 'exemplaire de l'ouvrage qu'a du porter mon fils en Angleterre pour y être gravé et imprimé...' but it is not clear which work he is referring to.

The project was perhaps overshadowed by the acclaim which greeted the publication in 1823 of Cailliaud's simultaneous journey; 'Voyage à Meroë et au Fleuve blanc', in four volumes with a large and handsome atlas of plates. Cailliaud expressed his surprise that Linant should have, inexplicably, chosen to work for an Englishman, albeit

⁵ Salt's letter 18 February 1823, HJ 1/200.

⁶ HJ 1/227.

⁷ HJ 1/200.

⁸ Linant was in England with Finati by 29 December 1824 (HJ 1/249) and in Malta, having left England, 18 Aug 1825 (HJ 1/351).

⁹ Halls, II, 1834, 234.

¹⁰ HJ 1/249.

¹¹ HJ 1/346.

one for whom he appeared to have a high regard, rather than publish to the glory of France.

In addition to his journal of the 1821-22 journey and the portfolio, Linant also completed a further manuscript for Banks which has remained unknown. *General Notices upon the principal countries and peoples comprehended in the journey of A. Linant when sent by William John Banks to seek for Meroe and to examine the course of the Nile*, was the title Banks wrote on the marbled paper of the bound notebook. The work supplements the journal's engaging account of the country and their journey, and the scholarly descriptions of ancient sites and antiquities. It is a contemporary history of the area, now the Sudan, following the 'manners and customs' genre of other travellers, such as Burckhardt and Cailliaud.

Banks may have arranged for Linant to explore the White Nile and the Sudan for the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior parts of Africa in 1827,¹² and Linant continued to travel through the Near East and Egypt.¹³ Banks also had copies of Linant's project for sending one of the Alexandrian obelisks back to England.¹⁴

In 1831 Linant explored the Atbai gold-mining area between the Nile and the Red Sea for Mohamet Ali. He later specialised in irrigation projects including the planning of the Suez Canal. In 1847, he directed with Bourdaloue the topographical studies of the Isthmus of Suez. He first visited the fertile area of the Fayoum lake in 1821; later research convinced him that the ancient Lake Moeris was in that area but was not to be equated with the present Birket Qarun.¹⁵ Linant enjoyed an illustrious career in the service of Mohamet Ali, until his death in Cairo in 1883. He worked as an engineer and geographer, and was made Minister of Public Works in 1869. Created Pasha in 1873, he had long before established himself in Cairo in splendid Oriental style. He published many maps, and in 1872, *Mémoires sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Egypte depuis les temps de la plus haute antiquité jusqu'à nos jours. Accompagnée d'un Atlas renferment neuf planches grand in-folio imprimées en couleur*, and *Mémoires sur le Lac de Moeris, présenté et lu à la Société Egyptienne le 5 juillet 1842, Carte, 1843*. Linant never published the work he did for Banks.¹⁶

Many other travellers were to visit him in Cairo, receiving hospitality, advice, and assistance. Banks received a gossip glimpse of Linant's lifestyle in 1831, from John Barker, who replaced Salt as Consul-General: 'Linant is going on as usual - the best dressed man in Cairo, having Slaves, Dromedaries, & Horses with no *apparent* adequate means. He has however lately obtained a certain quantity of sheep & camels for his

¹² Letter of 1827, III 1 1/298.

¹³ For details of his career see Laborde and Linant de Bellefonds 1994.

¹⁴ Linant's description of the scheme, and a detailed watercolour plan of a boat showing the way the obelisk was to be stowed, are uncatalogued in the Dorset County Archive, among Banks' Egyptian papers.

¹⁵ See Borrer 1845, 547.

¹⁶ For details of his career, publications, and a bibliography, see Bierbrier 1995, 256-7.

daughter, whom he has married to a rich Arab Sheik. You know he pretends to be a creditor of the African Association, and refuses to give up their time-piece &c till his demands are satisfied!’¹⁷

HENRY SALT (1780-1827)

Henry Salt died in Cairo in 1827, perhaps best remembered today for the major collections he amassed and his long dispute with the British Museum over their purchase; a bitter wrangle in which he was championed by Bankes, whose father was a Trustee of the Museum. Many of Salt’s extensive collection of notes and drawings from Egypt are now lost.¹⁸

Burkhardt wrote to Bankes in July 1816 to tell him of the new Consul General who had taken up his post after Bankes had left Egypt for Syria.¹⁹ ‘Mr Salt is eagerly occupied in collecting and drawing Hieroglyphics, of which we have never had any correct designs till now. In pursuing this plan he will do more towards their explication than has ever been done before. He has an excellent Classical and modern library of whatever concerns Egypt, and as he goes very coolly and earnestly to work, we may expect a sound work on Egypt from his pen and pencil.’

With so many interests in common, Bankes and Salt enjoyed what appears to be genuine friendship and mutual collaboration, inevitably overlaid with some patronage on Bankes’ part. Salt effectively acted as an agent for Bankes after the latter’s departure; directing the artists and organising the necessary financial arrangements, forwarding letters and the latest news, and arranging for items to be shipped back to England. In return, Bankes promoted Salt’s interests in his negotiations with the British Museum.

Salt wrote of his companion Bankes; ‘Of all the men I have ever met with, I consider the former as being gifted with the most extraordinary talents; born to family and fortune, he has dedicated his whole time to learning and the arts, possessing a fund of anecdote and good humour which renders his society the most agreeable and entertaining that can be conceived.’²⁰

ALESSSANDRO RICCI (died 1834)

Alessandro Ricci, son of a Florentine stone-mason, was born in Siena, where he studied medicine at the University.²¹ He arrived in Egypt around 1817.²² By the time he

¹⁷ Letter from Barker, 2 May 1821, from Alexandria, III 1/374.

¹⁸ For his life see Bierbrier 1995 and Halls 1834. For Salt and Bankes, see James 1997, chapter two.

¹⁹ III 1/57

²⁰ Halls 1834, II, 124-5.

²¹ For biographical source-material see Sammarco 1830.

²² See Jolliffe 1820, 309.

worked for Bankes in 1818-19 he was an experienced epigrapher, having spent almost a year in Thebes recording the tomb of Seti I for Belzoni. He had set off with Belzoni and Beechey to discover and record ancient Berenike, but illness forced him to turn back.

Although failing to record the tombs of Beni Hassan as requested by Bankes after his departure in 1819, Ricci joined Linant on expeditions to Siwa Oasis and Sinai in 1820. The following year he accompanied Baron von Minutoli and his wife into Upper Egypt.

Linant and Ricci left together in 1821 for the journey to Meroë, but they quarrelled and separated. Ricci was enabled to return to Italy in 1822, having unexpectedly made his fortune by saving the life of Ibrahim Pasha on that same journey.

He set up his large collection of antiquities in a museum in his house in Florence, and in 1824 he was offering for sale his drawing portfolio and his journals, both much admired by Champollion on his visit in 1825. Ricci returned to Egypt in 1828-29 with the Franco-Tuscan expedition, in the multiple role of experienced advisor and guide, doctor and artist. His subsequent ill-health was put down to a debilitating scorpion bite he received in Thebes.

Failing to be awarded the post of Tuscan Consul in Egypt in 1830, he was employed by Rosellini in 1831 to recruit subscribers in Germany and England for the publication of the Franco-Tuscan expedition. Taking with him five hundred pieces of his collection, three hundred of them were purchased by the state of Dresden.²³

By 1832 he was gravely ill in Florence and, on his behalf, the rest of his collection was sold to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in return for a lump sum and a life pension. His collection and about one hundred of his drawings remain in the Egyptian Museum of the Archaeological Museum of Florence.²⁴ He deposited the journal of his travels and other drawings with Champollion Figeac in Paris in 1836, but they were never returned and were subsequently lost. Rediscovered in Paris in 1928, they passed to his biographer Sammarco, only to disappear again on the verge of publication, after the latter's death in 1948. The brief travel diary which has now been discovered, forgotten, among Bankes' papers is little compensation for the loss of what, judging from the style of his letters, would have been a most interesting work. Unfortunately, the misleading title Sammarco chose for his collection of source-material on Ricci's life, *Alessandro Ricci e il suo Giornale dei Viaggi*, has led to the repeated and erroneous assertion in print that his journal is published.

Ricci died in Florence in 1834 of the debilitating illness said to have originated in the scorpion bite in Thebes; however his symptoms are not medically attributable to this event, and appear to be those of syphilis.²⁵

²³ Elsner 1993, 8.

²⁴ See Usick 1998.

²⁵ I am most grateful to Professor David Warrell for this information.

He is shown in Angelelli's group-portrait of the Franco-Tuscan expedition, and there is a sketch of him in the Renéaume Collection, although the two portraits are not much alike.²⁶ As an epigrapher he should be ranked as a fine pioneer Egyptologist, even surpassing his contemporary fame as one of the few men to have returned home after making his fortune in Egypt.

HENRY WILLIAM BEECHEY (c1789-1862)

Beechey had probably arrived in Egypt in 1816 with Salt, as his secretary. He spoke both French and Italian, and Salt soon sent him off to Thebes to oversee and record excavations there. He joined Belzoni, Finati, Irby and Mangles when they opened the temple of Abu Simbel, and made an expedition to Berenike with Belzoni, before accompanying Salt and Bankes to Nubia in 1818-19.

He left Egypt in 1819 on the same boat as Bankes. They remained in touch, and at the end of 1822 Beechey was sending news from the expedition, made with his brother Frederick, to explore and record the ancient sites of Cyrenaica. Their journey ended abruptly with the withdrawal of British Foreign Office support. The endless rain of the North African coast left Beechey nostalgic for the days of their travel together in Egypt. He 'fairly wished himself once in some of our old berths above the cataracts where the ground was as good a bed as anyone could desire and the sky as fine a canopy as the highest stars could make it'.²⁷ The resulting volumes, *Beechey and Beechey 1828*, include plates from Beechey's drawings. Frederick, appointed by the Admiralty to make the survey, made the maps, while Henry, appointed by Earl Bathurst, reported on the antiquities.

In 1822, Salt wrote to Bankes of his misgivings at Beechey's behaviour, the exact circumstances of which remain unclear. 'I am truly sorry for the affairs of Beechey. It does not surprise me, but I could not have thought that he would have added to his folly by writing such letters as these he has done to Mr Wilmot. He sent me a copy of them & seems to think they do him honour, but surely it is neither decorous nor praise-worthy thus to fly in the face of those by whom he was employed. You have done much for him by giving him so fair an opportunity of distinguishing himself and if he have lost it, the blame must fall on himself.'²⁸

In 1825 Beechey became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and continued with his painting; a portrait of Mrs Worthington in 1838, and seascapes which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1829 and the British Institute in 1838. He published a 300-page, crude, memoir on Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1835.

²⁶ Renéaume 1988, 41-9; also Dewachter 1988b, 50-4. For the group portrait, Dewachter 1988a, 50; Rosellini 1982, 39 and Cat. No. 44.

²⁷ HJ 1/186, 26 November 1822(?).

²⁸ HJ 1/187, 14 December 1822.

Beechey seems never to have established himself in a successful career as either artist or explorer, and had financial problems. Bankes made him a generous offer to change a friendly loan into a gift, but Beechey apparently refused it.²⁹ At the age of 61, he emigrated to New Zealand with his second wife and family, arriving 7 February 1851. He farmed land near Christchurch, where he died in 1862, aged 73.³⁰

GIOVANNI FINATI (1787-1831+)

Finati's life, adventures, and travels, both before and after his employment with Bankes, are detailed in his own narrative.³¹

After Bankes' own departure in 1819, he left Salt with complex instructions for dealing with 'Mahomet' who had received his pay up to October 1819, and money for his living and for 'the expenses of putting the Pedestal &c on board'. After this he was to receive 'half a dollar a day' until he 'lands the Pedestal at Rosetta, when his engagement with me ceases.' Bankes had promised him a watch from England but was anxious that Mahomet might be 'extravagant in the charges for putting [the] obelisk on board', in which case the watch, which would be dispatched, should not be handed over to him. The same arrangement applies to 'necklaces bought of Belzoni' which were to be a reward for work well done. 'Mahomet' may also be reimbursed for any additional expenditure for 'antiquities'.³²

Finati's presence was required in England, together with that of d'Acosta (who was brought over from Portugal) in order to testify for Bankes in the libel case Buckingham brought against him. His aversion to the long sea voyage was mitigated by his being shown around Liverpool, and 'invited to a splendid ball... where my rich Turkish dress seemed to attract general attention.' He stayed with Bankes in Wales at Soughton, despite it being in the midst of rebuilding work, and Linant later joined him there, 'still wearing his Eastern habit and with his Abyssinian lady.' Finati then moved to London where his own narrative ends.

Finati was reported to be 'lately arrived' in England by 18 November 1824,³³ and left London for Egypt with Lord Prudhoe, 19 November 1826. After their journey together, Prudhoe left him at Alexandria on 5 June 1829.

On 2 June 1829, Finati, in Alexandria, sent Bankes a copy of an inscription he had found on a piece of black granite in the village of Achmim,³⁴ at the same time requesting a

²⁹ HJ 1/167.

³⁰ I am most grateful to Peta Rée for the details of Beechey's life.

³¹ For the graffiti he left, see Dewachter 1971a, 147-151.

³² HJ 1/80.

³³ HJ 1/247.

³⁴ According to Prudhoe this was the dedication of a colossal temple in the Roman era which had been excavated by Mahomet. Letter of 16 January 1830 to Bankes, HJ 1/360.

copy of 'his' book at the printer's cost, and also his portrait.³⁵ He hopes Bankes will continue his kindness towards him, and that after Lord Prudhoe leaves and his service with him ends, Barker will follow Bankes' request to find him employment in the consulate. This was done, and Mahomet was placed under Barker's protection: 'His situation will be, to take charge of passengers and goods to & from India - when the steam navigation is established on the Red Sea. The first packet is expected to arrive... from Bombay... in November next month. Mahomet's situation promises to be very satisfactory - he has been recommended by Mr Barker to keep a Lodging House for the English at Alexandria.'³⁶

Bankes had sent the corrected proofs of 'Mohamet's' book to the publisher, John Murray, with a reminder that twelve copies were to be forwarded to him, 'and I do not think that four for myself will be too much for all the trouble I have had as translator and editor'. He would prefer two of these to be on larger paper for the libraries of Kingston Lacy and Soughton. He asked Murray to look out for 'that small oil picture of Mahomet which I placed in your hands that you might choose whether you would engrave from it. He is continually writing to me for it to be sent out to him since there are no artists in Cairo since the days of the Ptolemies.'³⁷

In 1831, Barker requested Bankes for Finati 'to be furnished with a few more copies of his *Life* at the prime bookseller's cost (for which I will be responsible) as he can dispose of them, to some little profit, to travellers passing through Alexandria.'

WILLIAM JOHN BANKES (1786-1855)

After leaving Egypt, Bankes spent the winter of 1819, in Italy. He went first to Florence and then on to Venice where he stayed with Byron, and continued to add to his collection of paintings. At the beginning of 1820 he was in Bologna, and in February back in Florence. He visited Byron again in Ravenna, and then joined his sister Maria in Rome in March. He did not arrive home until April 1820.³⁸

Once back, he was lionised by society hostesses as 'the Nubian explorer' who Byron said, 'has done *miracles* of research and enterprize'. In the early 1820's, Bankes spoke of returning to Egypt.³⁹ Mrs Arbuthnot wrote, 'Mr William Bankes... told me he meant to go next year again to Africa and that he wd. try to get to the sources of the Nile, and was quite determined to return to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. I am afraid if he

³⁵ HJ 1/350.

³⁶ Letter from Lord Prudhoe, written from London(?) after leaving Egypt, HJ 1/360.

³⁷ Letter to John Murray from Bankes, 9 October 1830, John Murray archives, Albermarle St, London. The portrait was not used and was probably returned to Finati.

³⁸ Mitchell 1994, 27.

³⁹ Letter, 10 October 1821, from Salt, Alexandria, to Bankes, mentioning the news of Bankes arrival on the continent and his plans to visit Meroë, HJ 1/159. Also a letter from Linant; 'Vous m'avez fait espère dans votre dernière lettre que peut être bientôt vous seriez en Egypt...' HJ 1/147.

goes he will never return.'⁴⁰ But by 1826, she was finding that, Bankes, the 'famous traveller' so 'delightful and agreeable in discussing his travels', according to the Duke of Wellington,⁴¹ 'provoked us excessively by engrossing as much as possible all the conversation, & talking so loud as quite to drown Sir Walter's conversation. I never saw such bad taste in my life, I almost thought he was drunk.' By 1829, she was describing his humour as 'coarse and sometimes tiresome.'⁴²

Bankes returned to Parliament, despite an unprepossessing debut in 1810-12,⁴³ representing Cambridge University in 1821-5, Marlborough, 1829-31, and Dorset, 1833-5. During his absence abroad his brother had filled his seat.

In 1821 Bankes had received the gift of an 'excellent' drawing of the temple at Karnak from, a young architect whom he had met in Egypt and later helped. Bankes found Charles Barry, to be a 'very nice architectural draughtsman & therefore when I move into Dorsetshire I will have him down at Kingston Hall in order to have elevations & plans made of those alterations there which I have only roughly sketched upon paper'.⁴⁴ On his return from Egypt, he set about the redesigning and rebuilding of Soughton, the house left to him by his great-uncle. Even before inheriting Kingston Lacy and its estates he had free rein in its embellishment, and he was able to exercise his passion for architecture and lavish his income on creating a suitable background for the display of his remarkable collection of paintings. After 1841, now forced to live abroad, he continued to direct the alterations to Kingston Lacy, although he could only admire the results for himself on clandestine visits.⁴⁵

There is no trace of anything in the Egyptian style in the remodelling of the house or its contents; the fashion for such things in any case had passed, and Bankes favoured Classical designs. Egypt was never his sole passion and even his letters from there to his father at home are full of his other interests; the inscriptions and antiquities of Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, the paintings he has collected, and matters of common concern at home.

His architectural concerns however, never entirely overtook his interest in Egyptology; in particular in the study of inscriptions. The correspondence for the 1820s and 1830s shows that he was still kept informed of publications and consulted for his copies, and was exchanging information with other travellers and scholars as well as former companions. In December 1827, Bankes was asked by Mangles to contribute to a publication to benefit Mrs Belzoni.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Entry for 1 August 1821, quoted in Bankes 1986, 160.

⁴¹ Quoted in Bankes 1986, 158.

⁴² Mrs Arbuthnot, quoted in Bankes 1986, 168, 170.

⁴³ Mitchell 1994, 24.

⁴⁴ D/BKL, undated letter but postmarked 16 October 1821.

⁴⁵ Mitchell 1994, 32.

⁴⁶ IJ 1/332.

In 1833, Bankes viewed Joseph Sams' Egyptian collections, and when he declared 'that the curious ancient Mss on linen' were new to him, Sams 'begs to enclose a specimen in a box... to place with his other antiquities from ancient Egypt.' Sams, in turn, was 'highly interested with Mr. B's choice Papyrus' and requested 'a sight of his other Egyptian rarities.' He agreed with Bankes' remark as to the rarity of ancient chisels, but had two in his own collections which he would be delighted to show him.⁴⁷

As late as 1841 there is a letter from Letronne⁴⁸ to Hamilton, forwarded to Bankes by the latter, on the subject of the Greek inscriptions on his Philae obelisk.

The years of exile were spent in almost constant travel. Itineraries written in his hand show that he appears to have spent the first winter abroad in the south of France, then beginning the travels through Italy which continue through 1843-51. In 1851 he visited Vienna, Berlin, Cologne, and Heidelberg, returning to Venice at the end of October. From 1853 further travel around Italy again ends in Venice at the end of October. In September 1853 he is in Paris, and, at Calais on the 15th July 1854, perhaps preparatory to a clandestine visit to Dorset; the next entry being at Paris on the 31st. His return to Venice on November[?] 15th 1854 is his last entry. On 15 April 1855, he died in Venice, but where and in what circumstances is not known.

On hearing that Dr Maryon was about to leave Lady Hestor Stanhope in Syria to settle in Italy, he had approached her in 1816 with the proposition that Maryon might become his secretary. 'My miserable indolence about writing grows upon me every day', and in addition to the prospect of 'a good deal of business' from his great-uncle's death, his 'many notes & memorandums which it was almost a duty in me to have made in my travels' meant that he was 'in real and almost daily need of an amenuensis'. 'I begin to have some thoughts of drawing up some small memorandums of the strange places & strange people that I have seen...'⁴⁹

However, by his return to Europe, any projected 'Travels' would have been overwhelmed by the amount of material he had accumulated from his later Nubian voyage, and Linant's journey. He wrote to Byron in 1822 of publishing: 'I am always thinking of it, and from a strange mixture of indolence with industry always deferring it. I hate, and always did, method and arrangement, and this is what my materials want.'⁵⁰ In 1830 Bankes was still intending to publish at least his drawings of Syria and Palestine; 'The plans, elevations and views, taken... during my several visits, were arranged some years since, so as to be almost ready for publication, but other matters carrying me off from

⁴⁷ Letter from J. Sams, 10 April 1833. HJ 1/384.

⁴⁸ HJ 1/620

⁴⁹ D/BKL uncatalogued copy letter, Tripoli, June 17 1816.

⁵⁰ Mitchell 1994, 25.

them, it has been delayed', although he was planning to produce at least part of it that year.⁵¹

We may, however, have a false picture in Bankes' much vaunted indolence. The organisation and publication of such a large quantity of this type of material would have been a major undertaking, and it is not unknown for modern Egyptologists to take years to publish their work, or for their work ultimately to be published by others. Bankes' fastidious nature and the fact that so much was expected of him must have proved a strong deterrent to producing anything which would be less than perfect.⁵² At the same time, he clearly just put off the concentrated effort it would have required. Meanwhile, others published. Young wrote to him, 26 November 1824, suspecting Wilkinson had 'borrowed' Bankes' own copy of the Abydos king-list, 'You will have all your things... anticipated if you do not fairly publish them without delay.'⁵³ Thomas Young continued work on Bankes' copies of inscriptions, and, eventually realising that nothing would be forthcoming from Bankes, offered to publish 'as a Specimen of your Egyptian Collections a Series of the Kings of Egypt, consisting merely of 3 or 4 large folio plates, or perhaps rather 5 or 6 quarto plates, with a few explanatory pages of text. Of this little publication I could take the whole labour: it should bear your name, as being copied from your drawings... The risque of the publication should either be undertaken by a bookseller or by yourself or I would share it with you...' But Bankes apparently did not take up this offer. Young also requested the use of the hieroglyphic copies which Bankes had given him to study, for his publication of the Rosetta inscription.⁵⁴

Mrs Arbuthnot wrote encouragingly, 'I hope you will persevere with yr. intention to publish Mahomet for I long to see the conclusion of his adventures'.⁵⁵ Editing Finati's *Life and Adventures* enabled Bankes to write brief, erudite, footnotes (and to include parts of his own journal material, that he perhaps considered too frivolous to appear under his own name) without the responsibility or *gravitas* of a major undertaking.

Nevertheless, a considerable amount of work was carried out to prepare for publication the inscriptions, which Bankes no doubt considered the most important and useful part of his collection. Stored at Kingston Lacy are fifty-six lithographic stones containing plates for a projected publication. They feature the many different scripts collected in Egypt, Nubia, and the Near East, and some of Linant's views. Many of the inked preparatory drawings for the plates, and copies of proofs from the stones, are to be found amongst Bankes' papers. Some of these plates are marked 'Published Nov.' 27.

⁵¹ Finati 1830, 148-9, footnote.

⁵² It seems to have been common for his colleagues to put in print how eagerly awaited Bankes' publication was, since it would outshine all others.

⁵³ HJ 1/248.

⁵⁴ HJ 1/145. Young refers to the importance of his access to Bankes' copies in his own work, Young 1823, 30.

⁵⁵ HJ 1/143. Undated but WM 1821.

1821. by John Murray, London. Printed by C. Hullmandel'. Some have 'G. Scharf del.', others 'G. Scharf lithog.' Inquiries made into the archives of the publisher, John Murray, have failed to produce any information about the plates, or whether they were actually published. They may not even form a single or complete set.

There are a number of copies of the printed sheets 'PHILAE Plate 2' showing the hieroglyphic inscriptions on all four sides of his obelisk. These are titled, 'Hieroglyphics on the four faces of the Philae Obelisk: copied from it when lying at Deptford in 1821. London. Published by John Murray Nov^r. 27. 1821. G. Scharf del. Printed by C. Hullmandel.' and 'PHILAE, Plate 3' which shows the inscription from the pedestal. One of the latter is corrected in ink and marked by Banks as 'corrected from the stone 1833'. In 1995 the National Trust conserved the lithographic stones, stored them more accessibly in racks at Kingston Lacy, and made a photographic record of proofs from the plates.

Beechey wrote on 29 May 1822 from his North African expedition⁵⁶ that he was glad to hear that Banks was 'getting on fast with the inscriptions - they cannot fail to be very interesting - but I wish that I could hear that the other parts of your immense collection were equally advancing - But so it is - those who have most are often most backward in producing it - while any fool who has been to France thinks that it absolutely incumbent on him to let the world know the mighty fact as soon as possible...'

The result of this lack of publication has been that the Banks Mss remain largely unknown and accounts of Banks' Egyptian travels and activities are frequently either quite overlooked or else incorrectly described.

When Banks' name appears in Egyptology it is generally in connection with the decipherment of the name of Cleopatra on his obelisk or as a rich gentleman traveller, but his contribution was far greater than that. The record itself cannot be separated from his brilliantly inquiring mind, his acute eye, his energy and enthusiasms, and his extraordinarily high standards. As to his passion for ancient Egypt, Banks, in yet another corrected but never-published manuscript, wrote; 'of all the parts of the world which I have visited, Egypt and Nubia are those which interested me, beyond all comparison, the most, and have made the deepest impression upon my mind'.

⁵⁶ IJ 1/180.

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